

# New York State Historical Association . . . . .



PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH AND TENTH  
ANNUAL MEETINGS WITH LIST OF MEMBERS









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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NEW YORK STATE  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE NINTH AND TENTH ANNUAL MEETINGS  
WITH LIST OF MEMBERS

VOL. VIII



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OFFICERS 1907.

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION

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Assistant Secretary,

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## TRUSTEES.

1907.

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Gen. Henry E. Tremain, New York.....	Term Expires	1908
Mr. William Wait, Kinderhook.....	"	1908
Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls.....	"	1908
Mr. Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward.....	"	1908
Mr. Francis W. Halsey, New York.....	"	1908
Mr. Harry W. Watrous, Hague.....	"	1908
Com. John W. Moore, Bolton Landing.....	"	1908
Rev. Dr. Joseph E. King, Fort Edward....	"	1908
Hon. Hugh Hastings, Albany.....	"	1909
Mr. Asahel R. Wing, Fort Edward.....	"	1909
Hon. D. S. Alexander, Buffalo.....	"	1909
Rev. John H. Brandow, Schoharie.....	"	1909
Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill....	"	1909
Col. William L. Stone, Mt. Vernon.....	"	1909
Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris, New York....	"	1909
Dr. Arthur W. Hurd, Buffalo.....	"	1909
Hon. James A. Roberts, New York.....	"	1910
Miss Jane Mead Welch, Buffalo.....	"	1910
Mr. James A. Holden, Glens Falls.....	"	1910
Hon. Peter A. Porter, Niagara Falls.....	"	1910
Hon. Irvin W. Near, Hornell.....	"	1910
Dr. Everett R. Sawyer, Sandy Hill.....	"	1910
Hon. A. S. Draper, Albany.....	"	1910
Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls...	"	1910
Mr. Howland Pell, New York.....	"	1910

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## Ninth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association, Held at Buffalo, September 17, 1907.

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At an adjourned meeting of the New York State Historical Association, held at the rooms of the Historical Society of Buffalo, in the city of Buffalo, on the 17th day of September, 1907, a quorum being present, Hon. James A. Roberts, president, called the meeting to order.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. O. C. Auringer.....	Forestport, N. Y.
J. E. Barber.....	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Frank B. Coleman.....	Fitchburg, Mass.
Franklin Couch.....	Peekskill, N. Y.
Hon. Chas. F. Cantine.....	Kingston, N. Y.
R. Monell Herzberg.....	Hudson, N. Y.
Hist. Society of Warwick.....	Warwick, N. Y.
W. O. Hart.....	New Orleans, La.
Chas. T. McClumpha.....	Amsterdam, N. Y.
N. Y. Public Library.....	New York
Minisink Valley Hist. Society.....	Port Jervis, N. J.
A. J. Merrell.....	Little Falls, N. Y.
Dr. Wheelock Rider .....	Rochester, N. Y.
Guy Wheeler Shallies.....	Plattsburgh, N. Y.
Jeremiah M. Thompson.....	Dundee, N. Y.
University of Michigan.....	Ann Arbor, Mich.
John C. Wait.....	New York City
Williams College Library.....	Williamstown, Mass.
Hon. Diedrich Willers.....	Fayette, N. Y.
Henry A. Richman.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Bayard Bigelow.....	Syracuse, N. Y.
Andrew J. Nellis.....	Johnstown, N. Y.
John Harrison Mills.....	Buffalo, N. Y.

Mrs. Louise Bethune.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
F. C. Atherton .....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Frank B. Gilbert.....	Albany, N. Y.
Charles E. Lincoln.....	Albany, N. Y.
John A. Hobbie.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Hon. Charles N. Davison .....	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Obed Eadson.....	Sinclairville, N. Y.
Hugh Kennedy.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Edwin T. Evans.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Martin VanEvery .....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Theodore G. Lewis .....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Lucien Howe.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Hanna A. Hayes.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Seymour Vansantvoord .....	Troy, N. Y.
Dr. George S. Hobbie.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Edgar B. Jewett.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Ada M. Kenyon.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
P. F. Aird.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Rev. Dr. Chas. Wells Hayes.....	Geneva, N. Y.
Frank S. Sidway.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
William P. Rudd.....	Albany, N. Y.
Arthur W. Hurd.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Dr. William N. D. Bird.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Geo. D. Emerson.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
J. F. Schoellhopf.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
William A. Brodie.....	Geneva, N. Y.
Josiah Litchworth.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Hon. Francis A. Smith.....	Elizabethtown.
Hon. Peter A. Porter.....	Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Crandall Library.....	Glens Falls, N. Y.

Henry Crandall of Glens Falls was elected associate member, after which the Treasurer's report was read and ordered filed.

The following Trustees were thereupon duly elected:

Hon. James A. Roberts, New York.....	Term Expires	1910
Miss Jane Mead Welch, Buffalo.....	"	1910
Mr. James A. Holden, Glens Falls.....	"	1910
Hon. Irvin W. Near, Hornell.....	"	1910

Hon. Peter A. Porter, Niagara Falls.....	Term Expires	1910
Dr. Everett R. Sawyer, Sandy Hill.....	"	1910
Hon. A. S. Draper, Albany.....	"	1910
Mr. Frederick R. Richards, Glens Falls....	"	1910
Mr. Howland Pell, New York.....	"	1910

Mr. Arthur W. Hurd of Buffalo, N. Y., was elected Trustee in place of the Hon. George G. Benedict, deceased, whose term expires in 1909, after which memorials upon the death of Rev. Dr. C. Ellis Stevens prepared by James A. Holden and upon the death of Hon. George G. Benedict by Dr. J. E. Goodrich, were presented and ordered printed.

The matter of a communication from the Newburgh Journal in relation to one hundred copies of the work of Mr. Ruttenber was referred to the Secretary and Mr. Wait with power.

The constitutional amendments heretofore duly noticed for proposal at this meeting were read and adopted and are as follows:

### ARTICLE III.

#### MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. Members shall be of four classes: Active, associate, corresponding and honorary. Active and associate members only shall have a voice in the management of the society.

§ 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for active membership.

§ 3. Persons residing outside the State of New York interested in historical investigation may be made corresponding members.

§ 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made honorary members.

§ 5. Persons who shall have given to the Association donations of money, time, labor, books, documents, manuscripts, collections of antiquities, art or archaeology of a value equivalent, in the judgment of the trustees, to a life membership may be made associate members.

### ARTICLE VI.

#### FEES AND DUES.

SECTION 1. Each person on being elected to active membership between January and July of any year shall pay into the treasury of the Association the sum of \$2, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum for his or her annual dues. Any person elected to membership subsequent to July and who shall pay into the treasury \$2 shall be exempt from dues until January first of the year next succeeding his or her consummation of membership.



§ 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of \$25 at one time, and thereby become a life member exempt from further payments.

§ 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family, qualified under the Constitution and by-laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity by the payment at one time of \$250. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the board of trustees.

§ 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and invested as a special fund, the income to be used for current expenses.

§ 5. Associate, honorary and corresponding members and persons who hold perpetual membership shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

§ 6. The board of trustees shall have power to excuse the nonpayment of dues and to suspend or expel members for nonpayment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

§ 7. Historical societies, educational institutions of all kinds, libraries, learned societies, patriotic societies, or any incorporated or unincorporated association for the advancement of learning and intellectual welfare of mankind shall be considered a "person" under section 2 of this article.

Dr. Sherman Williams made a verbal report from the committee upon marking Historical Spots. Hon. G. M. Ingalsbe offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the President be authorized to appoint a Committee of three to consider the establishment of closer relations between the various historical societies of the State.

*Resolved*, That the Committee be requested to enter into correspondence with other societies for the purpose of receiving suggestions as to the matter referred to them, and that their report be made a special order for discussion at the annual meeting of the board of trustees for 1908. The Association adjourned to meet at the same place at two o'clock in the afternoon, at which time addresses were delivered upon the following subjects by the following named persons:

"Gen. Van Rensselaer and His Failure at Queenstown Heights," Jacques W. Redway, F. R. G. S., Mount Vernon, N. Y.

"Perry and His Victory," Professor George K. Hawkins, A. M., D. Sc., Plattsburgh, N. Y.

"Gen. Brown at Chippewa," read by Dr. Sherman Williams; Mr. F. H. Severance, Buffalo, N. Y.



"Gen. Porter at Fort Erie," Major Louis L. Babcock, Buffalo, N. Y.

"Gen. Scott at Lundy's Lane," Mr. George Douglas Emerson, Buffalo, N. Y.

The Association adjourned until 8:15 o'clock in the evening, at which time the annual address was delivered by the Hon. Andrew S. Draper, LL.B., LL.D., of Albany, upon "New York's Obligation to Her History," after which the meeting adjourned to September 18th, at 10 o'clock A. M., when the following addresses were delivered:

"Military Career and Character of Gen. Brock," Lieut. Col. Ernest Cruikshank, Niagara Falls, Canada.

"The Causes and Results of the Failure of the American Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in the Second War with England," Hon. Irvin W. Near, Hornell, New York.

Monograph — "Aboriginal Stone Implements of Queensbury," Rev. O. C. Auringer, Forestport, N. Y.

President's Address — Hon. James A. Roberts, LL.D., New York.

A vote of thanks was extended to all of the speakers who had presented addresses to the Association, and upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the New York State Historical Association be, and they hereby are tendered to the Buffalo Historical Association for their hospitalities extended during this meeting of the Association, and especially to Mr. F. H. Severance, Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Association, for his many services performed in our behalf.

The bill of the Secretary, for postage, express and miscellaneous disbursements, amounting to \$58.59 was audited and ordered paid, after which the meeting adjourned.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,  
*Secretary.*

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### TRUSTEES' MEETING.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the New York State Historical Association, held at the rooms of the Historical Society of Buffalo, in the City of Buffalo, on the 17th day of September,

1907, a quorum being present, James A. Roberts nominated Hon. Irvin W. Near as Chairman of the meeting.

Mr. Near was duly elected and took the chair, whereupon the Board of Trustees proceeded to the election of officers, as follows:

President, Hon. James A. Roberts, New York.

First Vice-President, Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill.

Second Vice-President, Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls.

Third Vice-President, Hon. D. S. Alexander, Buffalo.

Treasurer, Jas. A. Holden, Glens Falls, N. Y.

Secretary, R. O. Bascom, Fort Edward, N. Y.

Assistant Secretary, Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls, N. Y.

Treasurer's report read as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF J. A. HOLDEN, TREASURER, NEW YORK STATE  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, AUGUST 21, 1907.

1906.

Aug. 20.	Cash on hand .....	\$368 14	
	Received from dues . . . . .	459 00	
	Received from Gen. Tremain .....	50 00	
	Received from Col. Roberts .....	100 00	
	Received from sale of proceedings .....	19 50	
			<hr/>
			\$996 64

1906.

*Disbursements.*

Aug. 29.	R. O. Bascom .....	\$6 85	
	31. G. M. Ingalsbe .....	7 85	
	Morning Post .....	2 75	
Sept. 15.	Newburgh Journal .....	250 00	
	22. Thomson Printing Co. ....	24 25	
Jan. 1.	E. Reed, postage .....	5 00	
	15. E. Reed, postage .....	5 00	
Feb. 12.	R. O. Bascom .....	66 00	
	15. Morning Post .....	1 00	
March 20.	Newburgh Journal .....	250 00	
	26. J. A. Holden, postage .....	3 06	
April 30.	Glens Falls Publishing Co. ....	9 40	
May 21.	Newburgh Journal .....	250 00	
June 27.	Newburgh Journal .....	50 00	
			<hr/>
			931 16
			<hr/>
	Balance . . . . .	\$65 48	
			<hr/>

1907.

*Assets.*

Aug. 21.	Cash on hand .....	\$65 48	
	Back dues .....	186 00	
			<hr/>
	Total assets .....	\$251 48	

*Liabilities.*

Aug. 21. Newburgh Journal .....	\$161 35	
Postage, etc. ....	2 70	
		<hr/>
		\$164 05
Total balance .....		<hr/>
		\$87 43
		<hr/>

Life membership fund, \$283.64.

After which the President took the chair, and the following standing committees were duly appointed, viz.:

*On Legislation:*

Hon. James A. Roberts,  
 Hon. Henry E. Tremain,  
 Dr. Sherman Williams,  
 Rev. Dr. Joseph E. King,  
 Hon. Hugh Hastings.

*On Marking Historic Spots:*

Dr. Sherman Williams,  
 Frederick B. Richards,  
 Hon. Irvin W. Near.

*On Fort Ticonderoga:*

Elizabeth Watrous,  
 Hon. Frank S. Witherbee,  
 W. K. Bixby.

*On Program:*

Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe,  
 Dr. Sherman Williams,  
 Hon. D. S. Alexander.

*On Historical Societies:*

Hon. G. M. Ingalsbe,  
 Hon. Irvin W. Near.

*On Membership:*

Hon. Andrew S. Draper,  
 Dr. Albert Vander Veer,  
 Hon. John Woodward,  
 Hon. De Alva S. Alexander,  
 Dr. George Foster Peabody.

*On Publication:*

Robert O. Bascom.

The subject of the amendments of the articles of incorporation having been considered by the Board of Trustees, the same was referred to the Committee on Historical Societies with instructions to report at the January meeting of the Board of Trustees, after which the meeting adjourned.

R. O. BASCOM,  
*Secretary.*

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## TRUSTEES MEETING.

*January 30, 1908.*

At a meeting of the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association, held at the Hotel Ten Eyck in the City of Albany on the 30th day of January, 1908, present Hon. James A. Roberts, Hon. G. M. Inglasbe, Dr. Sherman Williams, James A. Holden, F. B. Richards and R. O. Bascom.

The meeting was called to order by the President. Minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was moved that the Committee on Historic Spots be a standing committee to consist of five members, which motion was carried, and the President appointed Mr. James A. Holden of Glens Falls, N. Y. and A. R. Wing of Fort Edward, N. Y., as members of such committee to be added thereto.

The Treasurer's report was read and ordered filed. It is as follows:

SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION, J. A. HOLDEN, Treasurer.

January 29, 1908.

1907.

## RECEIPTS.

Aug. 21. Cash on hand .....	\$65 48
Received from dues .....	121 10
Sale of books.....	25 00
	<hr/> \$211 58

1907		DISBURSEMENTS.	
Sept. 23.	R. O. Bascom, expense to Buffalo.....	\$40	59
	A. S. Draper, expense to Buffalo.....	20	30
Oct. 10.	E. Reed, postage .....	5	00
Nov. 12.	J. A. Holden, postage, etc .....	2	99
1908.			
Jan. 28.	E. Reed, postage .....	10	00
			<u>\$78 88</u>
	Balance, cash on hand.....		<u>\$132 70</u>
1908.		ASSETS.	
Jan. 29.	Balance, cash on hand.....	\$132	70
	Back dues (estimated).....	476	00
			<u>\$608 70</u>
LIABILITIES.			
	Balance bill, Newburgh Journal.....	\$161	35
	Times bill, proceedings 1906 (estimated).....	300	00
			<u>461 35</u>
	Assets over and above liabilities.....	\$147	35
	Life membership fund.....	287	88
			<u><u>287 88</u></u>

It was regularly moved, seconded and carried that James A. Holden, G. M. Ingalsbe and F. B. Richards be a committee to wait on the Comptroller as to the custody of the Lake George Park. The Secretary reported that he had placed \$500 insurance upon the library of the Association, and the same was approved.

The following new members were elected:

Milo M. Acker, Hornell, N. Y.

H. S. Adams, 152 Montague St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

H. H. Southwick, Ogdensburgh, St. Lawrence County, N. Y.

A. J. Merrell, Little Falls, N. Y.

Frank W. Jennings, Johnstown, N. Y.

E. C. Aiken, Auburn, N. Y.

Isaac Adler, A. M., M. D., 22 E. Sixty-second St., N. Y.

F. D. Boynton, Ithaca, N. Y.

Rev. John Quincy Adams, Assistant Professor and Librarian, Theological Library, Auburn, N. Y.

S. R. Shear, Kingston, N. Y.

Samuel P. Moulthorp, Rochester, N. Y.

Geo. Fenton, Utica, N. Y.

Adjourned.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,

*Secretary.*



## GENERAL VAN RENSSELAER AND THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.

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JACQUES W. REDWAY, F. R. G. S., MT. VERNON, N. Y.

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So far as the State of New York was concerned, the lines of military activity in the War of 1812 were confined mainly to the lower end of Lake Champlain, and to the frontiers of the St. Lawrence and Niagara Rivers. The accession of the country north of the Ohio River had been followed by a great emigration, and inasmuch as the Niagara frontier was the chief gateway of commerce between the prairie lands of the West and the Atlantic seaboard, the loss of the frontier, or the interruption of the traffic through it would have been a severe blow to the Americans; it therefore was bound to become a seat of military operations.

At the head of Niagara River was the village of Buffalo, a lively centre of trade with a population of about five hundred. It was then fighting its fight with its rival, Black Rock, for the control of the lake trade. A treacherous current in the river, however, was an important factor in turning the tide of commerce to Buffalo, and the latter has long since swallowed and digested its rival of former days. Lewiston, at the lower end of the gorge, was built on the margin of an old beach of Lake Ontario. It is to-day the head of navigation; for above it are the rapids, while below, the river is an estuary of the lake. Directly opposite Lewiston is the village of Queenston, then partly fortified. Commercially it was less important than Lewiston, from the fact that another Canadian village, Newark, was about as large as Buffalo and Black Rock combined. The commerce of Lewiston at that time was very great. Traffic for the West was assembled at Albany; carts and batteaus got it thence to Oswego; and from that point it was landed at

Lewiston. Thence it was transferred to vessels plying on Lake Erie, or else conveyed by ox-teams to the Ohio River. Lewiston was therefore a place of commercial, as well as of military importance. Its military importance lay very largely in the fact that Queenston, hardly more than a stone's throw in distance, had a British garrison of both militia and regulars. The main force of British troops, however, was at Fort George, at the mouth of the river, on the Canadian side.

The American forces at Lewiston were under the command of Major-General Stephen Van Rensselaer. Van Rensselaer's military education had been very limited; in fact, he had had practically none at all, and no training beyond the sanguinary prognosis of a dress parade, or a night attack on the café of the old Fort Orange Hotel at Albany. At the time when he assumed command at Lewiston, where his troops were assembled, it was very fortunate that an armistice was in progress. As for the personnel of the army, it is doubtful if a more wretchedly equipped lot of men were ever assembled in the country. In number, the army was about one thousand; in effectiveness, nothing at all. There was foot-wear for about three-quarters; suitable clothing for one-half; and arms for less than one-quarter. Of ammunition, there were less than ten rounds per musket; one cannon was in evidence, but there was not a single trained gunner.

The interim of the armistice was scarce a month, but in this time General Van Rensselaer used every possible effort to whip this motley crowd into the semblance of an organization. In clothing, feeding, and training the troops he used his own funds freely; and while he was making ready to meet his enemy in front, he was harassed by a more unscrupulous enemy in the rear.

Early in September he received orders from General Dearborn to move into Canada, but to have obeyed the orders at that time would have been more than foolhardy. During that month, however, his cousin, Solomon Van Rensselaer, joined him; a few days later he was reinforced by Colonel Christie and a few regulars. Solomon Van Rensselaer was a soldier of experience; he had made a fine record under General Wayne, and for about ten years he had been Adjutant-General of the militia of the State. In the latter part of September Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth with

1,700 regulars arrived at Buffalo. Van Rensselaer fully expected the co-operation of Smyth, but he was informed by the latter that Buffalo was the proper headquarters for the campaign. Van Rensselaer asked for a council of war, but was given to understand that a Brigadier-General of the Regular Army could not be expected to place himself under the command of a militia officer; so Van Rensselaer began the preparations for the campaign without the assistance of Smyth.

About this time two incidents occurred which helped to precipitate matters. The Americans who had been taken prisoners when General Hull surrendered Detroit, reached Queenston, and could be seen across the river. Moreover, Republican politicians at Albany were setting up a hue and cry that Van Rensselaer, who was a Federalist, was delaying matters in order to hurt the prospects of the Republicans at the forthcoming election. Both the soldiers and the politicians, therefore, demanded that Van Rensselaer should begin the attack on Queenston without further delay — just as soldiers and politicians in 1861 forced General Scott into the disaster at Bull Run. So, between the devil and the deep sea, Van Rensselaer made ready to move on the enemy.

The progress of the campaign that followed would make a fine theme for a comic opera. On the 10th of October, near midnight, the attacking party was counted off in boats. Just after the first boat shoved off and was well out in the stream, it was discovered that there were no oars for the rest of the boats. It was alleged that the officer in command of the first boat took them purposely, but inasmuch as about fifty oars were required, it is difficult to understand how twenty-five men and twice as many oars could find room in a boat that could scarcely hold the men alone. The rest of the attacking column remained on the American side of the river, in a drizzling rain, waiting to be taken across. The first boatload stood off the Canadian shore in a storm that was equally drizzling. They all waited until they got tired, the dull northeast storm being the only thing that apparently was not inoculated with weariness. By early daylight, however, all hands concluded that coffee was more exhilarating than war, and the attack was called off.

The next day, just before dawn, operations were resumed again — this time without hitch as to oars. Thirteen boatloads, aggre-



gating more than 300 men, advanced in two columns across the river. The regulars were under Colonel Christie; the militia were commanded by Solomon Van Rensselaer. General Van Rensselaer remained in charge of the American side. In spite of a treacherous current, a good and orderly crossing was made. The approach was discovered, however, and the advancing columns were received with a well-directed fire. In spite of the fusillade, the attacking columns made a landing and drove the British troops back from the narrow shelf that skirts the shore. In the meantime, the boats were carrying more troops across, and the first column was at the top of the cliff, pushing the enemy back towards Queenston. But the British were soon reinforced and, rallying, began to press the Americans back towards the cliff. At this moment the first misfortune occurred. Colonel Christie was carried out of the way by a disabled boat, and could not reach a landing place. Colonel Van Rensselaer was at the front, where the fighting had become pretty hot, and there was no one to command at the landing place. Thus begun the confusion that soon was to be worse confounded.

But even then an incident occurred that would have meant victory had it been known and its advantage realized. Captain Wool, with a boatload of regulars, was carried either by accident or by design, to a point directly under the fortifications. It was thought impossible to scale this escarpment, and, therefore, the troops had been withdrawn for service on the firing line. Wool and his handful of men nevertheless did scale the height and drove out the guard that held it, among them, the British Commander, Brock. Brock returned with additional men and twice essayed to retake the height, but in the second attempt, was shot through the heart. Had Captain Wool's position been known, and had he been supported, the day might have been saved. But unfortunately there was no one to take advantage of the circumstance. Solomon Van Rensselaer had his hands full at the front; Christie was temporarily out of the fight; and General Van Rensselaer, if he knew of Wool's stroke, could not help him.

There were several hundred men who had crossed to the Canadian shore, but for want of a leader, they had not been in action. These men became frightened and many of them slunk away into the ravines that indent the cliffs. When Van Rensselaer found

himself losing ground, he went in person to the shore and endeavored to lead them into action, but not a man of them would stir. He then crossed to the American side, while General Van Rensselaer went to the front, and implored the remaining troops to show a little courage; but not a man would move. They stood on their constitutional rights and denied the right of the President of the United States to order them off American soil. In chagrin at the cowardice of the militia, Van Rensselaer, who had been wounded four times, fell from exhaustion and loss of blood. General Van Rensselaer reached the front only in time to see the men who had borne the brunt of the fight surrounded and captured. Among the men who were made prisoners that day were three who in after years became famous — John E. Wool, Joseph G. Totten, and Winfield Scott.

For his work that day, the only thanks that Colonel Van Rensselaer received was a most humiliating letter from General Dearborn and a public denunciation from the same officer. Dearborn called him "an ignorant militia officer jealous of the regular service." Van Rensselaer's wounds disabled him from further service, and he was relieved at his own request. This disgraceful affair was the beginning and ending of fighting along the Niagara River during the year. The rest of the campaign was an exhibition of how not to do it.

General Smyth was then ordered to take command. His first effort was a proclamation so full of conceit and bombast that it has scarce a parallel in the annals of literature. Among the militia officers, however, was a very level head on the shoulders of one Peter B. Porter. Porter came into command of what practically was a new militia, for the men who had disgraced themselves at Lewiston had been sent home. Through Porter's efforts about two thousand men, nearly all from Western New York, had enrolled themselves, and they were fairly well equipped; moreover there was an opportunity to get them into training. In the meantime, General Smyth had been waging a vigorous warfare on paper by means of various proclamations; it then remained for him to make good. His first effort was an attempt to spike the guns of a battery near Fort Erie, but on making ready, a signal from the battery disclosed the fact that the enemy had discovered his in-



tent; so the attack was put off. The following day, the attempt was renewed. One detachment made for the battery, while another was sent to destroy the bridge across the Chippewa River. The guns were duly spiked, but a bugle call scared the first detachment so badly that they took to the boats, leaving the men who were sent to destroy the bridge without means of escape; they were, therefore, captured. In spite of this mishap, Porter was ready to make the crossing for an attack, when Smyth ordered him back.

Porter and his men were furious, and during the day a spirit of mutiny became apparent among the troops. Smyth was freely denounced and the soldiers began to clamor for Van Rensselaer. One militiaman drew a clever caricature of Smyth, which he labeled "Come-on-my-Heroes Van Bladder." So Smyth named another day for the attack. This time another bugle call gave warning as Porter was about to start, and Smyth again called the expedition off. Porter was beside himself with rage and denounced his superior in public as a coward. That Smyth was not lacking in personal courage may be inferred from the fact that he challenged Porter to a duel and exchanged shots with him. The public, which then, as in 1861, assumed to direct military affairs, looked upon Smyth's actions as cowardly rather than prudent. He was hooted and derided whenever he appeared on the streets and in Buffalo a militiaman shot at him. By this time he must have realized that his usefulness was at an end, for he very shortly afterward returned to Virginia. The militia were sent to their homes and the regulars went into winter quarters. Thus ended one of several campaigns of the War of 1812, each of which, as we read about it, seems more disgraceful than the others. As an exhibition of incompetency, each was picturesque.

It is hardly fair to call such a miscarriage as the operations on Niagara River a campaign; it would better be styled "unexpected results of vicious political maneuvers." The first factor in the affair was Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York. That Tompkins was an able and capable chief-executive of the State no one will deny. There have been governors of the Empire State whose names are engraved on the milestones of history for their honorable and enduring statecraft; there also have been gover-

nors whom we remember with shame only. Tompkins belonged to neither class; he was first and last a partisan of his party, loyal to the political machine which he then controlled. The political machines of the State were vicious then; they are not less so now. When Tompkins was planning for his re-election, at the beginning of the war, he saw danger in one man only, and that man was Stephen Van Rensselaer. With the latter as a candidate, Tompkins's success was by no means sure; with Van Rensselaer side-tracked, his election was fairly certain. So when the President of the United States called on Governor Tompkins for the New York quota of troops, the latter promptly detailed Van Rensselaer as their commanding officer. It may have been a somewhat foxy piece of statecraft, but it enabled Tompkins to carry the election. It was considered legitimate politics then; it would be considered so now. There were men of military training in New York who would and could have organized the motley crowd at Lewiston into an effective fighting machine; but to have put one of them at the head of the militia, or to have sought the services of a regular army officer, would not have got Van Rensselaer out of the way. It has been alleged also that Masonry was a factor in the matter, but of this there is not the slightest evidence. Governor Tompkins was a prominent Freemason, it is true, and Masonry was unfortunately in politics at that time. But as both the Van Rensselaers were Masons, we may safely dismiss the charge. Perhaps Freemasonry of to-day would not have been attractive to Governor Tompkins; there is also the suspicion that the Governor might not be attractive to Masonry, as it is to-day. The last few years of Governor Tompkins's life were bitter. He was defeated in his political aspirations; moreover, in an evil hour he pledged his private fortune to save the credit of the State, and the State allowed him to make good the obligation. He was never repaid, and he died a poor man. To this day he rests in a grave almost unknown and practically unmarked.

The most unique character of the campaign was Alexander Smyth. He was a Scotch-Irishman by birth and Roundhead in political heritage. But all the Oliver Cromwell seems to have been squeezed out his composition. He studied and practiced law in Virginia, but his practice was not financially successful, nor was he regarded as a strong political leader. In the reorganization

of the regular army, 'just' before the war, a regiment was raised in the South and Smyth was made its commander. His legal rather than his military knowledge made him useful, however, and at the beginning of the War of 1812 he was made Inspector-General of the army with the rank of Brigadier-General. Just how he came to be put in command of a brigade, or why he was sent to the Niagara frontier is not clear. This also has been laid to the door of Governor Tompkins, but there is not a particle of evidence to support the charge. After his ridiculous fizzle he was set upon by the press, but he proved a pretty clever fighter with the pen. He unhorsed his critics by telling the truth about the militia; and on the whole, demonstrated that he was better fitted for shedding ink than gore. After the affair at Buffalo became generally known, President Madison dismissed him from the service without either charges or court martial — an unnecessary injustice. But whatever may have been his merits or his demerits as a soldier, his State, Virginia, was loyal to him. Shortly after his retirement, he was elected to the Congress; and of this body he was a useful and honored member up to the time of his death, some eighteen years afterward.

Of all the men prominent in the campaign of the Niagara frontier, the Van Rensselaers leave the pleasantest flavor in historical literature. Stephen Van Rensselaer was the last Patroon of Van Rensselaer Manor. He was, first of all a successful farmer, and he was moreover, endowed with great business ability. Educated at Harvard College, and being a born leader, it is not surprising that political offices sought him. At this time he had filled several offices, among them, that of Lieutenant-Governor. At the various political headquarters he was regarded as the normal candidate for Governor on the Federalist side. Unfortunately or fortunately at that time he was holding a commission as Major-General of the militia of the State. So when Governor Tompkins ordered him to the command of the forces at Niagara, he did not openly demur, although he must have realized that it was his political undoing. A man less loyal might have declined the command without losing his political prestige, but Van Rensselaer was not one of that sort; throughout an honorable lifetime his integrity was not questioned.



Solomon Van Rensselaer was of the same sort of stuff as his cousin. That the troops failed him in the time of emergency was no fault of his. The primary cause was lack of discipline and training. Good soldiers cannot be made in a day, nor a month; nor can they be trained by anyone who is without military education. General Dearborn was to learn this a little later, when his troops also refused to cross the Canadian border and move upon Montreal. Indeed, among the militia on the Canadian frontier, discipline worth the name at no time existed. In the ranks, doubtless the raw material was good enough, but there were few capable officers. As a nation we have had this lesson often enough, but we have not yet learned it. The cowardice of the troops at the river landing was due to battle scare, and for this Colonel Van Rensselaer was not in any way to blame. Had Colonel Christie been at the landing to hustle the men off to the firing line, there would have been little if any skulking. Men exposed to the fire of the enemy without being able to reply are pretty apt to become demoralized, and this is exactly what occurred. Such a thing is a part of the history of about every war. We may safely admit that General Van Rensselaer was at fault in not providing for such an emergency. But no one can justly blame Solomon Van Rensselaer for any shortcoming on his part. It can be said of him as was told of Bret Harte's hero, "he done his damndest."

## PERRY AND HIS VICTORY.

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GEO. L. HAWKINS, A. M. D. SC.

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The year 1812 closed gloomily enough for the American cause. The unexpected had happened to an exaggerated degree. The war enthusiasts of the West and South had regarded the immediate conquest of Canada as certain, but that any results of permanent consequence might be accomplished by our puny fleet upon the ocean was not seriously contemplated. This feeling was shared even by New York State and New England. To snatch Canada, a half-willing captive, shy but not averse, from the arms of England was thought to be the expeditious method by which that proud nation should be brought to terms. And this, prospectively, was declared to be almost a holiday affair — an enterprise of little magnitude to be accomplished with the coöperation of Canada herself. While the Jeffersonian gunboats were active as the cheap defense of the Atlantic coast and were striving to protect important harbors, and while our little fleet of sea-going vessels, assisted by daring privateers, were threatening English commerce, striking viciously here and there, the army, accompanied by the hardy undisciplined backwoods militia of Northern New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and the Ohio, Indiana and Michigan territories, seeking the chief glory of the war, were expected to envelop Canada from Detroit, Niagara, Sackett's Harbor and Lake Champlain, sweep on to Montreal and perhaps march in triumphal procession onward to Cape Diamond and dictate peace from the lofty citadel at Quebec. It was a picturesque scheme and the few who stopped to consider the folly it contained were stigmatized as cowards and tories.

But a short time only served to puncture this brilliant bubble and disclose inefficiency, unreadiness and chaos. Within six months after the declaration of war all Michigan territory was



lost, the Indians of the northwest had been firmly attached to the British cause, the few lukewarm Canadians whose professions of sympathy were but idle gossip had been whipped into the line of loyalty, three armies — Hull's at Detroit, Winchester's at Frenchtown and Van Rensselaer's at Queenston — had laid down their arms in surrender, several important outposts had been captured, the western frontier lay at the mercy of the British, and the Americans themselves were threatened with invasion and the probable conquest of their line of defense from the head of Lake Erie southwest perhaps even to the mouth of the Mississippi River, thus materializing that ancient dream which the English *régime* had inherited from the French before them. Never was a France more rudely broken — never were expectations more ruthlessly set aback; and all because of the incompetency and pusillanimity of leaders, of undisciplined soldiery and lack of preparedness for war. No wonder the country was disgusted.

The other unexpected and consequently none the less cheering feature of the year was the noteworthy conduct of our gallant little navy which had brought upon the British lion immeasurable humiliation and disquiet and that too by attacking him at what was supposed to be his most invulnerable point. The English flag had more than once come fluttering down before the equal metal of American ships manned by superior officers and crews. But this, while encouraging, and a source of pride, was a game too strenuous to last, and even the least prophetic foresaw that the time must quickly come when sheer weight of vessels and guns should destroy or effectually blockade the comparatively feeble squadron with which we had gone to war. Rose-colored visions of conquest were dissipating fast and the consciousness began to grow that the contest at last was resolving itself into a fight for life; and so it was.

The startling fiascos along the northern frontier had finally impressed upon the government the necessity of controlling the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain as a defensive measure first and as a basis for invasion afterward; and that the war was to be no May-day parade conducted by political bombasts. In October of this year Commodore Isaac Chauncey, a man of somewhat distinguished service, arrived at Sackett's Harbor from the navy yard in New York and assumed charge of all naval operations upon the Great Lakes. A period of active preparation now opened, and

seamen, ship builders, ordnance and munitions both for Lake Ontario and Lake Erie were forwarded as rapidly as they could be secured and with such expedition as the tedious route of transportation would permit.

It is at this day almost impossible to appreciate the natural difficulties which interposed in the prosecution of this work. The country bordering upon the Great Lakes on the American side was an almost unbroken wilderness, the logical approach to which, so far as our present purpose is concerned, was by way of Albany and the Mohawk River to Rome and from there either by land or water to Oswego and Sackett's Harbor, or still farther westward, over roads nearly impassible, to Canandaigua, Batavia and Black Rock. Transportation over this route was exceedingly slow, toilsome and expensive and even the transmission of dispatches was a serious problem. On the other hand the Canadian side of the lakes was comparatively well settled with prosperous towns and with direct water communication with Montreal and Quebec. Thus, at the outset, the Americans suffered from a serious handicap in the form of obstacles with which England did not have to contend, and great praise is due to the energy and resolution with which the construction and equipment of flotillas on these lakes was conducted. It was a Herculean task. And upon Lake Erie, be it remembered, the start had to be made from nothing. Not an American gun floated upon its waters. The Adams — the only war vessel previously owned by the Americans on this lake — had been surrendered by the timid Hull at Detroit, and the British held undisputed control of all its length and breadth.

During the fall of 1812 Lieutenant Elliot, afterward famous in the battle of Put-In-Bay, was commissioned to go from Sackett's Harbor to Lake Erie and lay the foundation of a naval force by building two twenty-gun brigs and by purchasing available merchant schooners as auxiliaries. By a brilliant stroke of bravery he succeeded in cutting out the little British brig *Caledonia* from under the guns of Fort Erie opposite Black Rock and in destroying the *Adams*, which after her capture had been rechristened the *Detroit*, to commemorate the victory. The *Caledonia*, together with the purchased schooners, renamed the *Somers*, *Tigress* and *Ohio* and the little sloop *Trippe*, all of which lay blockaded in the

Niagara River, constituted the nucleus of the American fleet, as yet helpless, on Lake Erie. By the advice of Sailing Master Daniel Dobbins, a navigator of the lakes, the harbor of Presque Isle, now Erie, was selected as the site of ship-building operations and the final rendezvous of the navy, because it was located favorably for cruising, was spacious and was defended by a bar at its mouth, which reduced the danger of attack; and there, under the direction of Dobbins and Noah Brown, a ship-builder from New York, and protected by volunteers from the Pennsylvania militia, a regiment of whom was later on detailed for the purpose, the two brigs and three additional schooners were begun. Both sides now addressed themselves to the acquisition of a naval force with marked zeal, the odds of-course being in favor of the British, both on account of ships already in their possession and because of the greater facility with which workmen and supplies could be procured, but notwithstanding this advantage the Americans greatly outstripped them.

Meanwhile, back in the harbor of Newport, charged with the protection of the coast from that harbor to New York, commanding useless gunboats for the purpose, was a young man, Oliver Hazard Perry, full of vigor, ambitious, pining to meet the enemies of his country but condemned to inactivity. He was bred to the sea as was his father before him and had won a reputation for intelligence, courage and seamanship, although he had never been tried in actual battle.

Chauncey knew him, and recognizing his capacity, had solicited him to enter the service upon the lakes, promising to give him the command of Lake Erie. This Perry was eager to accept, and when at length his application for transfer was granted, accompanied by his little brother of thirteen, he met Chauncey by appointment at Albany and together they made the midwinter journey over the frozen route to Sackett's Harbor from whence Perry soon set out for the scene of his new command. He arrived at Erie on the 27th of March, 1813. The theatre upon which he gazed and upon which his youthful prowess was to be engaged must have been forbidding. A long and barren peninsula of sand embraced a deep and roomy bay which was entered by a tortuous channel. On the mainland before him straggled a squalid frontier village, and on every hand stretched weary leagues of wilderness,



save where from the bluff above the lake his eye beheld a waste of waters upon whose flood no banner waved except the foe's. But with splendid enthusiasm he entered upon his task, and with sleepless energy and indefatigable industry, before the height of summer passed, he carried it to completion against untold discouragements and exasperating trials. In his indomitable pluck, his vigorous supervision, his minute inspection of details, his intelligent and thorough, as well as rapid preparation for what he knew was coming, the greatness of Perry as a naval commander best appears. There was no underestimating of responsibility — no shrinking from the event, no doubt of the result. His was an exhibition of courageous optimism, of iron resolution and unbounded faith.

When Perry left Newport he brought with him, in three detachments commanded by sailing masters Olney, Taylor and Champlin, 149 men and three boys, made up of officers, artificers and seamen. These men were volunteers from the Rhode Island service, hardy mariners of staunch New England stock and personally attached to Perry himself. Champlin, indeed, was Perry's first cousin. Of these recruits about 100 found their way to Erie, while the remainder, by order of Commodore Chauncey, were, for reasons of his own, detained upon Lake Ontario. The *esprit de corps* among the followers of Perry was admirable. Beneath the magnetism of his gallantry they were as devoted as he, and the woodland echoes rang continuous response to the ceaseless activity of axe and hammer and saw. Forest trees which spread their branches to the morning sun had found a place in deck or plank-ing before that sun went down a night. So swift was the progress made, that before the end of May had come, all five vessels under construction were launched and ready for equipment. Perry had visited Pittsburgh in search of material and supplies, had sent Dobbins to Buffalo upon the same errand and had exhausted every resource within his reach to obtain the means of fitting out his fleet; and thus far his untiring perseverance had met with substantial success. On the 23d of May he started on a hurried trip by open boat to Buffalo, and from thence to Fort Niagara, for the purpose of assisting Chauncey in a contemplated attack on Fort George. No doubt he felt unusual personal interest in this at-

tempt, because the fall of Fort George would probably mean the capture or evacuation of Fort Erie and of the whole Niagara Peninsula, and thus secure the release of those five vessels mentioned above which had been refitted in the navy yard at Black Rock, but which were imprisoned by the batteries above. Fort George fell, and in that gallant action Perry was a star performer, the British withdrew from the peninsula and the needed vessels, stocked with tremendous labor, were tracked up into the open waters of the lake.

Here the British suffered the first penalty of negligence. Baffled by head winds and buffeted by angry waves, the little fleet required six days to make the voyage from Buffalo to Erie. Perry was ill on board the *Caledonia* and the British cruising squadron, consisting of four vessels carrying forty-four guns, under Captain Finnis of the Royal Navy, if sufficiently alert, might have made an easy capture. As it was, the American schooners had but just crossed the bar into the harbor at Erie when the British squadron hove in sight. This was the first in a series of fortunate events growing out of British carelessness of which Perry promptly took advantage that contributed greatly to make his final victory possible.

In the meantime the work of preparation went briskly on, so that early in July the American ships, with guns mounted and sails bent, floated in readiness upon the bosom of the land-locked bay. There were ten of them with a weight of broadside metal approximately three times as great as the British fleet could at that time bring to bear. General Harrison at Sandusky implored Perry for assistance and co-operation, the Government ordered him again and again to give it, but the crews to man the ships were lacking and could not be obtained; and Perry, after many weeks of tremendous effort, was now compelled to chafe in idleness, while helpless rage and grief ate out his heart, beneath the open taunts of what should have been a greatly inferior foe. His appeals for men were pathetic. Daily the level of the lake was falling, making the task of getting his larger vessels into deeper water outside the bar more difficult. The British fleet, now commanded by Captain Barclay, a veteran sea fighter, trained with Nelson, maintained a close blockade, and it began to look as if



Perry was doomed to impotent captivity in the harbor he had chosen. A vigorous and determined effort to capture or destroy his naval force by invasion had a fair chance to succeed; but again the British failed to grasp the opportunity. Men came in but slowly, and of a quality not at all acceptable to Perry. The blockade continued, and to get the American brigs across the bar in the face of a hostile fleet was impossible.

At length, on the 2d of August, the third and greatest mistake of all was made by Barclay, who, underestimating the resourcefulness of his antagonist, suddenly departed for two whole days to accept, it is said, a social invitation across the lake. This was the golden moment and Perry, with characteristic energy, removed the guns from his largest vessels, buoyed them across the bar, replaced the guns, and upon Barclay's return on the morning of the fifth, met the astonished commodore prepared for battle, his scanty crews being supplemented by volunteers from the Pennsylvania militia. The British fled, for Perry outmatched them, and took refuge at Malden, where the *Detroit*, a nineteen-gun ship, was nearing completion and would make the odds more equal.

On the 9th of August Captain Elliot arrived at Erie from Lake Ontario with 100 seamen, with whom he manned the *Niagara*, one of the American brigs, over which he was appointed to command, and on the twelfth the whole fleet set forth to co-operate with the army of General Harrison at Sandusky. The rendezvous, Put-In-Bay, at the western end of the lake was reached on the fifteenth without particular incident. Communication with General Harrison was opened and a plan of concerted action agreed upon. Put-In-Bay was selected as a point of concentration for general attack on the British army under Proctor at Malden as soon as Barclay's fleet should be disposed of.

During the last week in August, while the army was being put in readiness, Perry dispatched the schooner *Ohio* to Erie for supplies, and with the rest of his force sought out the British commodore, whom he found in the mouth of the *Detroit*. But the latter refused to accept the gage of battle and the prostration of Perry and many of his officers and men by the lake fever prevented the attack. Constrained by contrary winds and the prevalence of illness, Perry relinquished his purpose and again returned to Put-

In-Bay to recuperate. There he received an accession of Kentucky riflemen from Harrison's army to take the place of his sick marines, and on September 1st he sailed once more to challenge Barclay, who lay secure beneath the guns of Malden, and who wisely declined to meet him. On the sixth he anchored again in Put-In-Bay with positive information that scarcity of provisions in Proctor's army would soon compel Barclay to come out and attempt to open communication with Long Point, opposite Erie, where their chief depot of supplies was situated. For three days he waited impatiently and on the evening of September 9th he held a council with his officers, at which it was determined to attack the enemy, at anchor if necessary, and stations were assigned and instructions issued to each commander.

On the following morning at sunrise, however, the British squadron was sighted on the northwestern horizon bearing down for battle. It consisted of the new nineteen-gun flagship *Detroit*, just completed; the seventeen-gun ship *Queen Charlotte*; the thirteen-gun brig *Lady Prevost*; the ten-gun brig *Hunter*; the sloop *Little Belt*, carrying three guns, and the schooner *Chippewa*, of one gun. The American squadron was composed of the flagship, *Lawrence*, of twenty guns, the brig *Niagara*, the counterpart of the *Lawrence* and armed the same; the brig *Caledonia*, of three guns; the schooner *Ariel*, of four guns; the schooners *Scorpion* and *Somers*, each of two guns; the schooners *Tigress* and *Porcupine*, and the sloop *Trippe*, each of one gun.

The relative tonnage of the American to the British fleet was about eight to seven, of weight of long gun metal about three to two and of short gun metal about two to one. In crews they were for all practical purposes substantially equal. The American officers were young and inexperienced, many of them being lieutenants, midshipmen and sailing masters. The British officers numbered several of distinguished service in European wars. Without doubt under the ordinary exigencies of battle, if both fleets were managed with equal skill and courage, the defeat of the British was a foregone conclusion from the start. If Perry had failed it would have been simply another conspicuous item in the formidable list of botcheries which characterized our movements on the northern frontier.

After some maneuvering for position, by a fortunate change of wind Perry obtained the weather gage and bore immediately down to attack with the now famous blue flag, displaying the dying words of Captain Lawrence, floating at his masthead. The British fleet, admirably disposed and handled, hove to in battle line with the Detroit at its head supported by the Chippewa, and calmly awaited the event. Next to the Detroit were the Hunter and the Queen Charlotte, supported by the Lady Prevost and the Little Belt. Perry made for the head of the line in the Lawrence flanked by the Scorpion and the Ariel and followed by the Caledonia, a slow-sailing, cumbersome vessel which was to assist the first three against the Detroit, Hunter and Chippewa. The Niagara was assigned to the Queen Charlotte and the remaining schooners were to take care of the Lady Prevost and Little Belt.

This plan of approach seems to me to be gravely at fault in view of the fact that the engagement was to take place on a smooth sea, because, owing to Perry's belief in fighting at close quarters, his largest ships were chiefly furnished with short range guns, while the Detroit was armed with seventeen long ones. A light wind was the most favorable for maneuvering the shallow schooners and had they been efficiently employed they could have done tremendous execution with their long 32's and 24's. As it was, the Lawrence was literally knocked to pieces by the concentrated fire of the enemy's long guns before she could effectively reply, and a great portion of the American long-range metal was allowed to trail uselessly in the rear, playing no important part in the battle, during the first three hours of which the most serious damage to the English fleet was done by the Ariel, Scorpion and Caledonia.

The engagement opened at 11:45 and at 2:45 the Lawrence was reduced to an unmanageable wreck and nearly every man upon her was killed or wounded. The carnage was awful, but Perry himself seemed to bear a charmed life, and when all hope for his ship had gone he transferred his flag under fire to the unscathed Niagara, which hitherto had appeared to shun the danger. Sending Captain Elliott to bring the tardy gunboats forward, he, himself, with his fresh vessel and a rising wind headed straight for the enemy's line, now well shattered and in



trouble, broke it, delivered raking broadsides, double-shotted, right and left and in fifteen minutes compelled the surrender of the entire British fleet. The victory was final, decisive and complete. In the incidents connected with the surrender, Perry proved himself to be as magnanimous, humane and modest as he had been heroic, and history has placed upon his brow that wreath of imperishable laurel which the world delights to give the brave.

Of his unfortunate and acrimonious controversy with Elliot concerning the latter's conduct in the Niagara I have not time to speak. Captain Elliot was certainly not a blockhead, his previous record makes it hard to believe him a coward, and I shrink from calling him a traitor. But it cannot be denied that he saw his commander's flagship, for hours, literally slaughtered in a contest terribly unequal and made no move to give him his assistance. The Niagara was the best manned and therefore the strongest ship in the American squadron and was supported by some of the best gunboats, and when I read the narrative of that eventful day I am led to wonder if Elliot let unworthy ambition persuade him to sacrifice the brave but somewhat precipitate Perry in the expectation of finally winning the victory for himself over an exhausted enemy.

Perry's triumph made offensive operations possible, but they in themselves were of little consequence save to scare the Indian tribes into half-hearted submission. The conquest of Canada was always but a dream. But the moral effect upon a discouraged country was immense and it forever laid at rest the lingering fear of British acquisition in the southwest. Perry himself, for his one great service, is entitled to the plaudits of a grateful land because of his devoted patriotism, his tenacious industry and the exercise of a bravery unsurpassed.

## GENERAL BROWN AT CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814.

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BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE, SECRETARY BUFFALO HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY.

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[Mr. Severance presented no written paper at the meeting, but described the battle, illustrating his narrative with blackboard sketches showing the movements of the armies. The following notes are a brief abstract of his remarks.]

The subject assigned to me is "General Brown at Chippewa."

Early in the momentous year of 1814, Brown's fine record in the militia service was rewarded by the appointment as Major-General in the regular army and he was placed in command of the American forces on the Niagara. He made Buffalo his headquarters and here for several weeks the army was organized and drilled as probably no American troops had been drilled before in this war. The chief merit for this rests with Brigadier-General Winfield Scott, and in fact the story of the battle of Chippewa is very largely the story of Scott's exploits. July 3d found the American forces here to consist of Scott's Brigade, made up of the Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-fifth and a detachment of the Twenty-second Regiments; of Ripley's Brigade, made up of the First, Twenty-first and Twenty-third; of Porter's command, which included the New York and Pennsylvania volunteers and a considerable body of Indians. With Scott's Brigade should be included Hindman's Artillery Corps. Towson's Battery completed the force which on July 3d was ready for Brown's command.

The story of the action of that day does not properly belong to my subject, but very briefly may introduce it. All who have read the story of that eventful summer on the Niagara, will recall how at Brown's command a movement was carried out for the capture of Fort Erie, Scott's Brigade crossing the river at



Black Rock, Ripley's being ordered to cross higher up and invest the fort from the lake side. You will remember how Ripley delayed in obeying orders, so that virtually the investment of the fort was accomplished by Scott's Brigade alone. The British garrison was small and feeble and soon surrendered with a loss, I believe, of but one man on the British side and four wounded on the American. The garrison were sent across the river as prisoners and dispatched to Albany, and Brown and his army had undisputed possession of the Canadian side of the Niagara in the vicinity of Buffalo.

Then began the movement northward. By the evening of the 4th July, General Brown's army was encamped on the south bank of Street's Creek. This is a small stream that empties into the Niagara from the west, some two miles south of Chippewa Creek, or, as it is often called, the Welland River, a deeper and more important stream navigable for small boats some forty miles from its mouth. On the north side of this latter stream, Major-General Riall had made his camp, having advanced to that point from the vicinity of Burlington on hearing of the capture of Fort Erie. The British troops on the north side of the creek were entrenched. A block-house stood on the south side near the mouth of the Chippewa and earthworks had been thrown up at the mouth of the stream, known as a *tête-de-pont* battery, the picturesque ruins of which are still to be seen by the tourist at that point.

This, then, was the situation on the morning of the 5th July. The two armies rested each on the farther side of a protecting stream with an open plain some two miles in extent between them. At the east ran the Niagara skirted by a road, for the most part near the bank. At the west, at varying distances from the water, — a half to three-quarters of a mile, — stretched heavy woods. The plain, for the most part, was fairly level and open.

General Riall's force consisted of the One Hundredth Regiment, commanded by the Marquis of Tweeddale; the First, or Royal Scots, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon; and detachments of the Eighth or King's Regiment; the Royal Artillery, and the Nineteenth or Light Dragoons. He also had a considerable force of Canadian militia and Indians and a battery of nine pieces.

During the morning of this scorching hot July day there was much irregular skirmishing but no general action. About noon

Scott was joined by Porter, with some three hundred Pennsylvania volunteers and four hundred Indians, the latter under the leadership of Captain Pollard and Red Jacket. It was in this fight at Chippewa, by the way, that Red Jacket won his chief military honors. His share in the Revolution had gained him the reputation of a coward; here, although he did not distinguish himself as a fighter, he at least shared in the advance of the Americans and, in a measure, redeemed his reputation.

Early in the afternoon the British fire on the right of their line had become so sharp that Porter with his volunteers and Indians were sent forward through the woods to check it. This was a brilliant movement, characteristic of Porter in all of his Indian fighting. He pressed forward so rapidly and with such hot fire that the British fell back and he suddenly found himself advanced well nigh to the main British line. He had, in fact, somewhat overdone the business, for a heavy line of British charged him and he had to order a retreat and his militia and Indians alike fled back southward through the woods in what was for a few moments a very discreditable rout. This preliminary action brought on the main conflict. Under General Brown's orders Scott advanced his brigade, sending Jessup to the extreme left, well into the woods, where he met the advancing British right. McNeil was given a center position, while Leavenworth was posted at the American right. For a time the two armies fairly faced each other within short musket range; but the decisive action was precipitated by effective flank movements on the part of both McNeil and Leavenworth. McNeil, who commanded the Eleventh, struck the blow which broke the British advance. Scott, observing an unsuccessful maneuver on the part of the British, saw a great opportunity and he spurred on his men, shouting: "The enemy say we are good at long shot but cannot stand cold iron; I call upon the Eleventh instantly to give the lie to that slander — *Charge!*" This charge of the Eleventh, under McNeil, augmented by a simultaneous charge under Leavenworth, who also made an efficient flank attack, broke the British front and precipitated their final retreat.

During this action Towson's battery, posted at the extreme American right, had proved very effective. The British artillery,

on the other hand, had through a part of the engagement been virtually masked by the position of British troops, interfering with its range towards the enemy. Jessup, too, on the extreme American left, being very hotly pressed by the British, gallantly ordered his men to "support arms and advance." This maneuver was executed in the face of a deadly fire, but gained for his regiment a more effective position, from which they opened a terrific fire on the British left, which broke and fled. The British retreat did not end until they had crossed the Chippewa, regained their camp to the north of it, and torn up the bridge.

The loss in this engagement according to American official figures, were: American losses — killed, 61; wounded, 255; missing, 19. British losses — killed, 236; wounded, 322; missing, 46. The greater loss inflicted upon the British force was undoubtedly due to the efficiency of Towson's battery and to the deadly fire of McNeil's force, especially the Eleventh Regiment, to whose gallant charge the victory was mainly due. There is discrepancy, as usual, between the American and British accounts of the engagement, both as to losses of men in the battle and as to strength of force engaged. The American reports place the total American strength at about 1,300 and the British at 1,500. British reports generally state that the American force was superior in numbers to their own.

Although at the close of the battle each army retired to the same position it had occupied the night before, yet there is no question that it was to be reckoned as a decisive victory for the Americans, and so the British and Canadian officers and historians have regarded it, although with natural disagreement as to details. To the Americans it was most cheering victory, while the gallantry of our troops on the plain of Chippewa won for American armies a new respect on the part of the British, probably its most salutary effect was on the popular mind in the Northern States. It created a pride in our troops where heretofore had been doubt and discouragement. It made enlistment popular, whereas prior to that time there had been the greatest difficulty in enrolling men enough to carry on the campaign. In a sense, this battle of Chippewa, in which no actual advance in territory was gained by the American army, marked the turning-point in the Niagara



campaign. It put new spirit not only into the troops on the frontier, but into the hearts of those in authority at Albany and Washington.

To Major-General Jacob Brown must be ascribed the glory of the victory, although in the actual fighting, the principal figure, as we have seen, was Winfield Scott; but the movements of the troops were directed by Brown and we must recognize his genius in the whole plan of campaign. It is a pleasure to dwell upon the part which General Brown bore in this war; a Quaker by birth, and a lover of peace, he was none the less a born fighter. Without military training, he gained the recognition of his country in militia service and fairly won his promotion to the command of the regular army. His career throughout the War of 1812 is uniformly a worthy one. At its close he continued in military service, and at his death in Washington, 1828, he was Commander-in-Chief of the American army. There is no figure in all this story of the War of 1812 on the Niagara frontier better entitled to our admiration and gratitude than that of Major-General Jacob Brown, the fighting Quaker, the hero of Chippewa.

## THE SIEGE OF FORT ERIE.

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L. L. BABCOCK.

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Fort Erie was constructed by the British in 1764, and was intended more as a fortified trading post than a fort to withstand a siege. Lieutenant McDonough and a small garrison were left in the fort while Brown was operating down the Niagara. This officer worked diligently strengthening the fort by deepening the ditches and raising the bastions. He also took out the line of pickets on the west flank and began the construction of a redoubt to protect the bastions.

When Ripley reached the fort it was in a very poor condition to resist a determined assault; but there were several excellent regular army engineers in the army, and the work of fortifying the position was entrusted to them.

They quickly converted a very weak fort into a rather strong position, and the fort changed into a fortified camp with the rear open and protected by the Niagara.

While this work was being vigorously prosecuted, on the 1st of August, Sir Gordon Drummond, who held the rank of lieutenant-general, appeared before the fort with upward of 4,000 men, drove in the American pickets, and took up a position on the hills opposite Black Rock. Apparently at this time he did not anticipate a very stout resistance from the fort, but subsequent events increased his respect for American prowess.

On the 2d of August occurred the first clash between the opposing forces, and this on American soil, within the present limits of Buffalo. General Brown had posted some 240 men, composing the First Battalion of the First Regiment of riflemen under Major Morgan, an extremely capable officer, on the American side of the river as a guard to protect Black Rock and Buffalo. General Drummond immediately perceived



that if he could destroy the stores of ordnance and supplies, and defeat the militia at Black Rock and Buffalo, it would seriously embarrass the defenders of Fort Erie, if it did not cause them to surrender. He therefore directed Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, with a force of 600 men, to cross the river before daylight on the third and carry out the project.

On the evening of the second Major Morgan observed movements of the enemy on the Canadian side of the river which led him to suspect he might be attacked. He immediately took up a position on the south bank of Scajaquada Creek commanding the bridge, threw up log breastworks, and waited developments. At 2 o'clock in the morning of the third, Morgan's pickets reported Tucker to be crossing the river. Morgan thereupon took up a portion of the planks forming the roadway across the bridge and awaited the attack.

Shortly after four that morning Tucker attacked Morgan's position, endeavoring to cross the bridge and carry it by assault. The British bravely advanced to the attack; but when the rushing column perceived the absence of the roadway of the bridge it recoiled, the Americans in the meantime pouring in a withering fire, and in the confusion some of the assailants were crowded off the bridge into the waters of the creek. The assault failed, but, not disheartened, the British endeavored to repair the bridge under fire. This attempt also failed, as the bridge was completely commanded by the fire of Morgan's men. Retiring, the British started up a fire at long range, and, detaching a column, endeavored to ford the creek above the bridge; but Morgan, on the alert for such a move, sent sixty men to oppose the movement, who completely repulsed the British. Tucker, after consultation with his officers, determined to retreat, and thereupon skillfully withdrew across the Niagara with his killed and wounded, "owing [as he says] to the enemy having destroyed the bridge over Conguichity Creek prior to our arrival at that point, and there being no possibility of fording it." Tucker, in his official report, attributes the failure of the attack to the cowardice of his men. He reports a loss of 12 killed, 17 wounded and 5 missing. Our loss was 2 killed and 8 wounded. This skirmish greatly encouraged the Americans; and, besides, it resulted in an increase of the force

at Buffalo, which deterred Drummond from making another attempt. This skirmish was afterward known as the Battle of Con-jockety, and Morgan as the "hero of Con-jockety."

Drummond, always prone to find fault, issued an order publicly censuring the troops for their cowardice.

On the day this fight occurred General Drummond pushed forward a brigade to the edge of the woods surrounding Fort Erie, and, making a careful reconnoissance of the position, decided after "mature consideration" not to assault until after the guns of heavy caliber he had sent for from Fort George were mounted and had made a breach in the walls. In coming to this decision, Drummond made his first serious mistake, which the Americans hailed with considerable satisfaction. The works were weak and ill fitted to stand the determined assault Drummond's veterans were capable of making, and which they afterward made; and each day was improved by our forces in putting them into better condition. Never was delay more fatal to the success of a movement.

Brown, it appears, was not satisfied with Ripley's conduct during his term of command after Lundy's Lane. One reason for Brown's complaint was that he claims to have ordered Ripley to retake possession of the battlefield of Lundy's Lane early in the morning following the battle, and that Ripley failed to carry out the order. In any event, Brown and Scott both being disabled by wounds, Major-General Edmund P. Gaines was sent for to come on from Sackett's Harbor. He arrived on August 4th, and at once resumed command.

While the Americans were engaged in strengthening their works, the British were not idle. Parallel lines of earthworks and abattis were constructed northwesterly from Fort Erie, the nearest of which was about 500 yards away, running from the river almost due west for 1,000 yards. Two blockhouses were built and embrasures constructed for two batteries — Number One situated near the river, nearly 1,000 yards from our works, and Number Two situated about 250 yards nearer the fort and about 200 yards from the river. It took some time to complete them, Battery Number Two not opening fire until August 19th, or even later. It consisted of two long eighteen-pounders, one twenty-four-pound carronade, and an eight-inch howitzer. These batteries were planted in the woods, and when completed avenues were cut

through the trees to admit of their playing upon our lines; but, owing to the construction of the artillery of that day, it was soon found that both batteries were laid too far away to admit of their doing very effective execution. It was thought when they were erected they would soon batter down the fort, because they took our works in reverse, but throughout the whole siege they did comparatively little mischief. The British had their camp at Waterloo, nearly two miles from their lines, one brigade being constantly on duty at the front.

The British army consisted of upwards of 4,000, while our forces at first did not exceed 2,800. On August 1st, Lieutenant Douglass fired one of his pieces at an advance party of the enemy, and on the second some American soldiers, without orders, fired a cannon at the British; but neither side really opened fire with any energy until August seventh, when the British opened with all their available guns. The Americans displayed their colors from every staff; the field music and regimental bands struck up Yankee Doodle; and amid the cheers of the garrison the fire was returned with spirit, if not with effect. The cannonading continued with only slight intermissions until August 15th. Up to this time skirmishing was daily going on between the lines, in which many more were killed and wounded than the importance of the results accomplished by the movements seem to justify.

The narrative now reaches a point where the first hard fighting occurred. General Drummond, having made several careful reconnaissances of the American position, came to the conclusion it could be carried by assault. Our works did present several vulnerable places; for, notwithstanding the great efforts made by the Americans during the past fortnight, the abattis was weak, and openings existed between Douglass's battery and the river on our right and between the fort and the breastworks running easterly to the river. Our left Drummond also considered somewhat weak, but subsequent events proved otherwise. It may be well at this point to again recur to our position and see how our forces were disposed. Douglass's battery, consisting of a six-pounder and an eighteen-pounder, was situated on our extreme right and rear; Towson's battery of six guns, all fieldpieces, occupied Snake Hill on our extreme left, and was elevated some twenty feet, so as to



completely command the esplanade; Fontaine's, afterwards Fanning's, battery of two guns was planted near the fort at the northerly end of the breastwork, while Biddle's battery of three guns was posted on the breastworks about 250 yards from the fort. The fort mounted a twenty-four-pounder, an eighteen-pounder, and a twelve-pounder. The artillery was all under the command of Major Hindman, of the regulars, and apparently was handled with great skill. Parts of the Eleventh, Ninth and Twenty-second Regiments of regulars, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Aspinwall, were posted on our right; Porter, with his militia and the First and Fourth Regiments of riflemen held the center; while on the left General Ripley was posted with the Twenty-first and Twenty-third regulars. Fort Erie was defended by the Nineteenth United States Infantry under Captain Williams.

General Drummond, having determined to assault on the 15th of August, decided to pave the way by a vigorous cannonading, which he began at sunrise on the thirteenth and continued until 8 o'clock in the evening of that day. He resumed firing on the fourteenth at daybreak, and it was then continued without intermission up to an hour before the time the assault was made. We returned the fire briskly a portion of the time. During this period we lost ten killed and thirty-five wounded, and our troops were greatly annoyed by the incessant fire. The works, however, were not seriously damaged, although Drummond reported that "the stone building had been much injured and the general outline of the parapet and embrasures very much altered."

General Drummond carefully planned his attack.\*

Most careful and explicit written instructions were issued to Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, directing how the details of the assault on our left should be carried out, and copies of these were given Colonels Drummond and Scott, the leaders of the other columns. Fischer was directed to move out from his camp before dark on the fourteenth and take up a position in the woods as close to our left as possible, exercising the greatest care that the enemy be not advised of his presence through deserters. Loud talking was forbidden; no fires were to be lit; and hourly roll calls were

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\* It was to be made in three columns. Col. Fischer with about 1,000 men were to attack the left; Col. Drummond with about 700 the center, and Col. Scott with about 750 the right.



directed to be held. The American troops were thought by the British to be "diminished and dispirited," and possibly this fact caused Drummond to make another curious but serious mistake. In Fischer's letter of instructions from Drummond he is directed to have his men (except the reserve) remove the flints from their muskets to obviate any chance of their firing prematurely and "to insure secrecy." His order says:

"The advantages which will arise from taking out the flints are obvious. Combined with darkness and silence, it will effectually conceal the situation and number of our troops; and those of the enemy being exposed by his fire and his white trousers, which are very conspicuous marks to our view, it will enable them to use the bayonet with effect, which that valuable weapon has been ever found to possess in the hands of British soldiers."

These instructions in respect to the flints also applied to the other columns.

So much for the plan.

While the American troops were engaged in the usual evening parade on the fourteenth, a shell from the enemy struck within the fort and exploded a small magazine, which blew up with a tremendous report heard for miles. The English, thinking the shell had done serious damage, set up a "loud and joyous shout," which the Americans were not slow to answer by hearty cheers; and the gallant Captain Williams, killed a few hours afterward, before the smoke of the explosion had lifted, renewed the cannonading from the largest gun within the fort.

Gaines during the past few days had observed several things which made it clear to him an assault was imminent, and thinking the explosion of the magazine might encourage the enemy to make it that night took every precaution to insure a successful defense. One-third of the garrison was kept on duty, and the balance lay down on their arms ready to fall in at a minute's notice. Lighted dark lanterns were placed at the guns; bags of canister were hung within easy reach; and the guns were charged afresh. Before turning in Gaines, accompanied by his engineers, went carefully over the works, spoke a word of encouragement to the men, and saw that his command was prepared to make a prompt and stout defense. When McRea, the chief engineer, visited Douglass, he

told him if the threatened attack did come he could rely upon it his battery would be one of the points assailed. Douglass relates how bags of musket balls suited to the caliber of his guns were hung beside each piece, how linstocks were placed where they could be easily reached and dark lanterns lit, and how the guns were charged so heavily with grape shot that the last wad could be touched with the hand. The gun crews lay on the platforms ready to leap to the guns at the first alarm, which all felt sure would soon come. The garrison had not the slightest intimation of an attack, so far as the English could observe. The timely precautions so wisely taken by Gaines undoubtedly saved the day for the Americans.

The night was pitch dark, and during the fore part of the evening rain had been falling. A picket of 100 men under Lieutenant Belknap of the Twenty-third Infantry, along about two in the morning of the fifteenth heard suspicious sounds coming from the direction the enemy would naturally advance. Not wishing to alarm the garrison needlessly, he waited until he was sure a column (Fischer's) was approaching, when he fired a volley and slowly retreated upon the fort, firing as he came. He gallantly kept the enemy in check for a short time, which was of great value to our forces; and as he brought up the rear he received a severe bayonet wound just as he was about to enter the fort, so close did the enemy's advance press him. The objective of Fischer's attack was the space between our left and the river; but the enemy carried scaling ladders and were prepared to mount our works wherever opportunity offered. But instead of overpowering the small interior guard and bayoneting the sleepy occupants of the garrison before a resolute defense could be made, as the British hoped to do, they found they were confronted with an entirely different situation. No sooner was the first shot heard than the officers ran down the lines of tents crying "To arms! to arms!" The reserves, all dressed and ready for the fight, ran to the parapets to assist their comrades, while the trained gun crews leaped to their pieces and freshly primed them; and while some of the crew held their hands over the priming to protect it from the dampness, others grasped the linstocks, opened the dark lanterns, and lit the slow matches, all in less time than it takes to tell it. The silent infantry lined the parapets and peered

into the darkness eager for the fight to commence and the period of suspense to be over. Gaines says in his official report:

"The night was dark and the early part of it raining *but the faithful sentinel* slept not. One third of the troops were up at their posts. At half past two o'clock the right column of the enemy approached and though enveloped in darkness *black as his designs and principles* was distinctly heard on our left and promptly marked by our musketry under Major Wood and artillery under Captain Towson."

As soon as the approaching British were faintly discerned through the darkness, Towson's battery and the Twenty-first and Twenty-third Infantry opened with a tremendous crash, lighting up the night with the glare of the fire. Towson's battery, for its work that night, received the nickname of "Towson's lighthouse." The enemy bravely stood the fire and advanced to within a few feet of our lines before recoiling. A portion of his forces, by wading breast-deep in the river, succeeded in passing around the abattis and were about to attack our position from the rear, when two companies of the Twenty-first Regiment, posted to meet such an emergency, rushed up and opened so deadly a fire that very few of the enemy escaped. Many were carried dead or wounded down the river by the swift current. Again and again the enemy gallantly assaulted, and as often were they repulsed with great loss by the battery and musketry fire. Five distinct assaults were made. Disheartened and worn out, the shattered column finally withdrew, leaving their dead upon the field and 147 prisoners in our hands. No further attempt was made to assault our left, and the attack of the largest column of the enemy and the one upon which General Drummond relied to accomplish the most important results had utterly failed, notwithstanding the bravery it displayed.

When Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond and Colonel Scott heard the attack of Fischer in progress they put their columns in motion, and, pursuant to the instructions, Drummond directed his forces against the fort, while Scott, proceeding south along the river, attacked Douglass's battery and the earthwork on that side. Colonel Scott, with the One Hundred and Third Regiment, advanced bravely to the attack. He was met by the fire of the Ninth Regiment and two companies of volunteers (Broughton's



and Harding's), besides the volleys of canister from Douglass's battery and a six-pounder posted between the battery and the river and commanded by Major McRea of the engineers. Even the One Hundred and Third, veterans of many a hard-fought field, could not make headway against such a fire, and when about fifty yards away the column was seen by the anxious watchers in the fort to first hesitate, then waver, and then retreat in confusion, leaving many dead and wounded. So intense was the fire that one of the garrison compared the roar of the artillery and the musketry fire to the close double drag of a drum on a grand scale. About the time Scott's column fell back, loud cries to cease firing were heard, coming apparently from the fort. Douglass, supposing the order came from our officers, ceased working his guns, but seeing Scott's column again preparing to rush to the assault, and suspecting a *ruse de guerre*, immediately reopened fire and again repulsed the assault. Brackenridge is responsible for the statement that the One Hundred and Third Regiment left one-third of its number upon the field, including its brave colonel, who, while leading the charge, was shot through the head. No further attack was made at this point, although most of the attacking force afterward mingled with Drummond's column and assisted it in the assault on the bastion.

Two of the three columns had utterly failed to effect a lodgment in the works. The third was more successful. Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, the commander chosen to lead the troops against the fort, was a professional soldier of great bravery, and possessed of that stubbornness so characteristic of the British soldier — a quality which renders him incapable of appreciating when he is beaten. A Spanish report of an engagement during the late war describes the Americans as still pressing forward, notwithstanding the fact that they were already defeated by the well-directed fire of the Spaniards. Colonel Drummond was a fighter of this description. While Fischer and Scott were engaging the left and the right, Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, with the force described in the order (consisting of about 700 men), assaulted the center with an almost irresistible impetuosity. He was, however, beaten back by the men of the Nineteenth Regiment and by the artillery fire. Again and again, rallying his men, he



returned to the attack, only to be repulsed. Finally, owing to the dense cloud of smoke from the guns and to the darkness of the night (for the day was only just about to dawn), with some men belonging to the Royal Artillery, he crept along the ditch of the fort, and, planting scaling ladders, with which his column was provided, climbed into the northern bastion, closely followed by many of the attacking party, before the Americans realized what had happened. Bayoneting the defenders of the bastion, they seized the guns and turned them against the fort.

Among the artillerists defending the bastion was Lieutenant McDonough, who, it will be remembered, was left in charge of the fort during Brown's campaign down the Niagara. As he was severely wounded by a bayonet thrust he asked for quarter. Gaines, in his official report, thus describes the scene:

"Lieut. McDonough, being severely wounded, demanded quarter; it was refused by Col. Drummond. The Lieutenant then seized a handspike and nobly defended himself until he was shot down with a pistol by the monster who had refused him quarter, who often reiterated the order 'Give the damned Yankee no quarter.'"

Colonel Drummond was shot through the heart and bayoneted a few moments afterwards. He immediately expired. His body was blown up when the explosion of the bastion occurred, but when his remains were afterwards searched, a copy of General Drummond's order, directing the assault, was found, and it was observed that the bayonet, in entering his body, had passed through that portion of the order wherein General Drummond "recommends a free use of the bayonet."

Near the bastion stood a stone blockhouse, which was manned by the Americans, and an attempt made to drive the British from the bastion; but they evinced no disposition to retire from their hard-won position, and the fight waged furiously.

About two hours and a half had elapsed since the attack first developed, and it was now daylight. This enabled our batteries, especially Fanning's to keep reinforcements from reaching the British, as the guns now swept the unobstructed clearing in front of the fort, while all the other pieces were trained upon the captured bastion. Gaines called upon Ripley and Porter for reinforcements, who promptly sent them, and a determined assault

was made upon the bastion. Owing, however, to the narrowness of the passage leading up to it (only two or three men being able to charge abreast), our forces were repulsed; but the Americans, nothing daunted, charged again and again with no success beyond wearing down the enemy.

While the officers were forming our men for another assault an event happened which had a decisive bearing upon the assault and which was as unexpected as it was fortunate for our arms. Underneath the platform of the captured bastion was stored a large quantity of cartridges and ammunition of various sorts. Suddenly, and from some cause never ascertained, a tremendous explosion, heard for miles around, occurred, which blew the bastion, with the men and guns upon it, high into the air. The bastion was crowded principally with men from the One Hundred and Third Regiment (Scott's), and the explosion was of so much force that this regiment was literally blown to pieces. The cries of the wounded, the loud report, the enormous clouds of dust, the distance objects were thrown, and the suddenness with which so many brave men were blown to eternity or terribly mangled made a profound impression upon the spectators. Its cause was long a matter of speculation and wonderment, not only along the frontier, but throughout the country as well. Lieutenant Douglass graphically describes the explosion in the following language:

"Every sound was hushed by the sense of an unnatural tremor beneath our feet like the first heave of an earthquake. Almost at the same instant the center of the bastion blew up with a terrific explosion and a jet of flame mingled with fragments of timber, earth, stone, and bodies of men rose to the height of one or two hundred feet in the air and fell in a shower of ruins to a great distance all around."

Panic seized the uninjured, and after a few minutes the surviving remnant of the British force retired to their intrenchments under a heavy fire from the fort, protected by a battalion of the King's Royals, which was pushed forward by General Drummond to cover the retreat.

The battle was over, and the daylight revealed the dismantled bastion still smoking from the effects of the explosion. In front of our position, and especially the bastion, the ground was piled

with the dead and wounded, many terribly mangled and mutilated by the explosion. The garrison immediately set to work to care for the wounded and bury the dead.

During the attack the people of Black Rock and Buffalo had listened to the sounds of the combat, which drifted across the river, and had watched the discharge of the pieces, fearing lest our army would be overpowered and that there would be a repetition of the horrible events of the preceding New Year's Day. When the bastion blew up they were filled with dismay, for it was thought it meant either an abandonment of the fort or its capture by the British. But at last, with daylight, came a rowboat from the fort, which conveyed the news of the victory to the anxious watchers. It was received with great rejoicing, and spread throughout the country with rapidity, for it was the most decisive victory of the war up to that time.

When the smoke of battle had cleared away and each side had taken a check roll call, it was found that for a "diminished and dispirited force," the Americans had done exceedingly well. The Americans lost two captains, one lieutenant, six subalterns, two sergeants, one corporal, and seventy-two privates killed, wounded, and missing. Seventeen were killed. The total loss of the British was 905, according to their official report, but, judging from the men left upon the field and from unofficial accounts, it was probably over 1,000, of whom about forty were officers. Drummond's official return apparently does not include the loss in De Watteville's regiment, which must have been quite severe. Drummond frankly states in his report that many of the missing were probably killed in the explosion of the bastion.

General Drummond, who had decided ability for evading responsibility, attributed the defeat to the cowardice of the troops in Fischer's column, at the same time, as was his custom, praising the conduct of the officers. But the great loss the troops sustained of itself showed their bravery, and Sir George Prevost gently reproves Drummond for depriving the soldiers of their flints and for ordering a night attack. The preparedness of our forces and the precautions taken by Gaines account for the decisive defeat we administered. Our comparatively small loss was due to the fact that our fire could not be returned to any great



extent, as the enemy's muskets were disabled, and to the fact that we were behind fortifications, although the British speak of the bravery of our troops.

After the assault the garrison settled down to the wearisome life of the besieged, only enlivened by a skirmish between pickets or an occasional shell from the enemy. Fatigue parties were constantly at work repairing the damage done to the bastion and works during the assault and by the shells of the enemy.\* These fatigue parties suffered severely in the prosecution of the work. Lieutenant Douglass is authority for the statement that the daily losses averaged one to every sixteen men at work, for the enemy's artillery fired nearly 200 shots each day, mostly round shot.

Indeed, it is stated by one of the survivors that the thirty days following the assault was the most trying period of the siege. Men were continually falling; fatigue work around the garrison was incessant, and, as we have seen, extremely dangerous. One-third of the force was continually on duty. The others, at night, slept upon their muskets, with bayonets fixed, prepared to resist the assault which might come at any time.

The British, by reason of the severe losses which they had sustained, awaited reinforcements from York (now Toronto), and occupied their forces meantime in planting guns in Battery Number Three, situated only about 550 yards from our works. From this new battery great things were expected.

On the fourth of September the new battery was completed. It mounted three twenty-four-pounders, an eight-inch howitzer, and a mortar — a formidable armament for that period, when the effective range of a fieldpiece about equaled the point-blank range of the modern rifle.

The official despatches at this period of the siege reveal the fact that both sides were becoming extremely apprehensive over their respective situations. The Americans had burned the mills and destroyed the stores in all this part of Canada. Winter was coming on, and not only were the English far from their base of supplies, but there seemed to be small prospect of a further supply reaching them at all. Then, too, ammunition was running so low it had to be husbanded, and Drummond's army was threatened with an epidemic of typhus and typhoid fevers.



Our forces were so greatly weakened by long and severe fighting that on September 10th we could muster only about 2,000 men for field duty, although more were able to do duty within the fort. In addition, the garrison was subsisted on salt meat and stale bread, as fresh meat and vegetables were so high in price and hard to get that they were beyond reach of the majority of the men.

In response to the urgent appeals of Gaines and Brown, volunteers were called for, and the militia of western New York was ordered out by Governor Tompkins. These men were directed to assemble at Buffalo, which they did in considerable numbers from all the western part of the state. Porter called a meeting of the officers, and after a sharp talk, ascertained that nearly all would volunteer to cross the river, although at first few would go. The men were then addressed by Porter in an eloquent speech, and nearly 1,500 were persuaded to volunteer — about half the number assembled.

Although the Americans had received reinforcements, their position was still regarded as critical. Battery Number Three, mounting the long twenty-four-pounders, had not as yet opened fire; but we had suffered quite severely from the fire of Number One and Number Two, and the new battery was much feared by Brown because it would rake our position. The spirits of the men were sinking under the long and constant strain and confinement, and, to make matters worse, the weather was bad, much rain falling. Brown, therefore, determined to risk a sortie, damage the enemy's works as much as possible without too severe a loss to himself, and then retreat upon the fort.

It will be remembered that the works of the enemy were occupied by only one brigade of the enemy, each of his three brigades alternating in this duty, while the balance of the army remained in camp, nearly two miles away through the woods. Brown's plan, briefly stated, was as follows:

Porter, with a force of about 1,600, composed of regulars, militia, and Indians, was to move out from the left, make a wide detour, strike into the woods, and, following roads prepared in advance, come upon the enemy's right at Battery Number Three, and, after crushing the right and spiking

the guns of the battery, to turn towards the center and assist in the capture of batteries Number Two and Number One. Colonel Miller, "for whom batteries had no terrors," with 500 men from the Ninth, Eleventh, and Nineteenth Regiments of regulars, was to take up a position in a ravine formed by a water-course running into the lake, situate some 300 yards southerly from the enemy's line, and, when the noise of Porter's attack was heard, to rush in between batteries Number Two and Number Three, and attack Battery Number Two and then Number One. General Ripley, who, it is claimed, had no confidence in the success of the enterprise, and, as Brown states, wished to take no part in it, was stationed with the Twenty-first Regiment as a reserve out of sight between the westerly bastions of the fort. Major Jessup, recently wounded, was left to garrison the fort with the Twenty-fifth Regiment, only 150 strong. The plan of attack was simple, and, if success is any criterion, extremely effective.

On September 16th Lieutenants Fraser and Riddle, with 100 men each, 50 armed with muskets and 50 with axes, labored all day without being discovered, constructing rough roads for Porter's columns up to within 150 yards of the British position. They also built underbrush roads back to the fort from a point near the front of the British position in order that the retreat might be unobstructed and the miry and impassable places avoided. Much rain had fallen during the past twelve days, and the ground in front of our position was little better than a swamp.

The morning of the seventeenth dawned cloudy and disagreeable, and a light rain was falling. During the forenoon the volunteers were paraded, and, after arousing their enthusiasm by the announcement of the recent American victories at Plattsburg and Lake Champlain, the plan of the proposed sortie was revealed to them. It was enthusiastically received. Each volunteer was thereupon directed to take off his headgear and tie a red handkerchief or red cloth around his head so that he might be readily distinguished, none of them being uniformed. As the day wore on the rain increased, and a hard thunderstorm, almost a gale, came up, which continued during the attack. This undoubtedly aided our forces in advancing unperceived to the attack until right onto the enemy's works, but many of our muskets were disabled through water getting into the pans of the guns.

In the afternoon Porter moved out to take up his position on the enemy's right. He sent forward as an advance 200 riflemen, with some Indians, under Colonel Gibson. The balance of his force was divided into two columns, which marched parallel to each other, following the brush roads. They were guided respectively by Riddle and Frazer. Lieutenant-Colonel Wood commanded the right column, which was composed of 400 regulars and 500 militia. These troops were to attack the enemy's position. Brigadier-General Davis, of Batavia, who, while senior to Porter, volunteered to muster his brigade and fight under him, waiving all question of rank, commanded the left column consisting of 500 militia newly raised. This column was intended to engage the enemy's reinforcements if any should be thrown in.

These columns reached their position a few yards from the right of the enemy's position without discovery, and at about three in the afternoon Brown gave Porter the order to attack. This order was executed with great vigor, and the cheers of the Americans as they rushed to the assault were plainly heard by the anxious listeners upon the American shore, notwithstanding the storm that raged.

The British lines that day were guarded by the Second Brigade, consisting of the Eighth and De Watteville's regiments of regulars. The swiftness of the attack utterly surprised these troops, and the Americans soon captured a blockhouse in the rear of Battery Number Three, and then the battery itself, destroying the much dreaded twenty-four-pounders and their carriages and blowing up a magazine. Here the brave Wood\* and Brigadier-General Davis fell mortally wounded. The loss of both of these men was greatly mourned.

Porter then swung his forces around and attacked Battery Number Two conjointly with Major Miller, who had rushed forward as soon as Porter's attack was heard. After a sharp struggle this battery was captured. Battery Number One was, so Brown says, abandoned by the enemy. At all events, it was captured; but by reason of the confusion, and the stout defense the British soon made, the Americans neglected or were unable to permanently injure batteries Number One and Number Two, although they were temporarily disabled.



Owing to the suddenness and impetuosity of the American attack, the Second Brigade of the enemy was crumpled up and driven away before any arrangements could be made to meet the attack. It is a maxim of war that "when a force is not deployed but is struck suddenly and violently on its flank, resistance is impracticable." Chancellorsville, where the Eleventh Corps of the Union army melted away before Jackson's fierce onslaught, was an illustration of the truth of this maxim. This attack was another; and our troops soon swept the front line of intrenchments almost clear of the enemy.

So far the Americans had accomplished much with little loss, but the end was not yet. As soon as the American attack was heard, De Watteville promptly sent back to the British camp for reinforcements, and the First and Third brigades hastened to the succor of the Second Brigade. In the meantime the Second Brigade was rapidly recovering from the demoralization from which it had at first suffered.

The British lines were defended by felled trees, entanglements, and abattis, and whilst the Americans were struggling to penetrate these defenses they were met with a hot fire from the enemy posted in the traverses and along the parallel lines of intrenchments. Then too, at this stage of the attack the enemy's reinforcements arrived and commenced a determined resistance to the further advance of the Americans. The fight now raged furiously. Hand-to-hand encounters occurred all along the line, and sometimes with the bayonet and sometimes with rifle fire the enemy sought to regain possession of the lines and drive off the Americans, now somewhat confused by the constant fire concentrated upon them from all points and through penetrating the abattis and entanglements. Although outnumbered, the Americans stubbornly resisted, and, regardless of the hot fire, gave back blow for blow.

Brown, fearing for Miller's safety, ordered Ripley forward to his assistance, who promptly advanced with the Twenty-first Infantry. Ripley soon received a serious wound in the neck, and was borne to the rear.

Miller, with excellent judgment, appreciating that nothing further could be accomplished, and in view of the superior force



of the British, began an orderly retreat towards the fort; and Brown soon ordered the other columns to do the same, for the object of the sortie had been accomplished. They all reached the fort in good order, but with considerable loss, for by this time the British were pressing them fiercely. Thus in barely two hours the result attempted had been achieved, the enemy irreparably crippled, and 1,000 men killed, injured, or taken prisoners.

General Drummond speaks of the retreat of the Americans as a "precipitate retrograde movement made by the enemy from the different points of our position of which he had gained a short possession." It should be observed, however, that Drummond, whatever his faults were as a soldier, was a pronounced success at what might be termed an explanatory writer. Some one has remarked of Cellini that he created his own atmosphere. The same remark applies to Drummond. His despatches to his government are well worth a perusal. Ingersoll, in his history of the war, dryly remarks apropos of this part of Drummond's report:

"The coincident exertions of both commanders, Brown to withdraw his men from, and Drummond with his to recover, the British entrenchments, soon effected it."

In this sortie we lost 79 killed, 216 wounded, and 216 missing, a total of 511. Of this number 12 officers were killed, 22 wounded, and 10 were missing—a most serious blow to the effectiveness of so small an army.

The enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and missing was somewhat under 1,000, and, according to the American accounts, we captured nearly 400 prisoners. In any event, the Americans totally disabled his best battery and injured the others, besides destroying the morale of his troops. Only the pen of a Drummond could convert this disaster into a repulse of the Americans, which he did with ease. According to Drummond's report his loss was 115 killed, 148 wounded, and 316 missing—a total of 579.

During the progress of the fight crowds lined the American shore and listened to the combat during the lulls in the severe storm which raged that afternoon. Dorsheimer thus dramatically describes what was probably a very simple incident:

"All through the afternoon no tidings came. Just at dusk a small boat was seen struggling in the rapids. An eager crowd

soon gathered on the beach. In the midst of the breakers the little bark upset. One of its crew was seen floating in the waves. The bystanders made a line by holding on to each other's clothes, and, stretching out from the shore, seized the drowning man. As, exhausted and chilled, he staggered up the beach, he gasped into the ears of his rescuers the first news they had of the great conflict and victory."

Many friends of General Porter have contended that the sortie was planned by him and that he suggested it to Brown. Brown makes no mention of this in his official report or in his manuscript memoirs. Porter was a man of as much capacity as Brown, and it is quite likely he had to do with planning the attack, although Brown was by no means adverse to any plan which would insure fighting. In any event, Porter was selected to lead the most important column, composed partly of regulars not in his brigade which is a significant fact in Porter's favor. Holley, at one time secretary to Porter, in an article in *The Magazine of American History*, says:

"Before battery No. 3 was completed, one bright morning early in September, as General Porter, Lt.-Col. Wood, and Major McRea of the engineers were walking from Towson's battery towards the Fort and discussing the progress of the enemy's offensive operations, Lt.-Col. Wood half-jestingly suggested that it might be expedient to attempt a sortie. But no serious proposal of such an enterprise was made until some days later, when General Porter invited his two friends to his quarters to examine a plan for it which he had prepared. This plan was discussed and fully matured in several confidential meetings of the three officers. It was then submitted to General Brown, who was still at Buffalo, whither he had retired, as has been stated, after being wounded at the battle of Lundy's Lane. He neither encouraged nor discouraged it at the outset, but, on examination of it as thoroughly as possible in his absence from the ground, he rather objected to the project.

"General Porter, however, continued to urge it, and his views were warmly seconded by the two able engineers to whom he had fully explained his plan. The whole army, General Brown included, reposed the greatest confidence in these two officers, particularly in Lt.-Col. Wood.

"General Brown finally required General Porter, whom he considered responsible for the plan, to give him a written statement of its details over his own signature. After receiving this document General Brown consented that the enterprise should be undertaken, and directed General Porter to lead it."

On the other hand, Major Jessup, at that time serving in the garrison, states positively that the sortie was planned solely by Brown; and he was certainly in a position to be well informed as to what transpired in the little garrison. Major-General Brown was in command, and as he assumed the responsibility for the movement he is entitled to the credit of its success.

An incident during the sortie, in which General Porter was the hero, is worth repeating. General Porter, so the story runs, while accompanied only by his orderly, was proceeding between batteries Number One and Number Two, when, too late to retreat, he suddenly came upon a small company of the enemy standing at ease apparently waiting orders. Coming up as though at the head of a regiment, Porter cried, "That's right, my good fellows, surrender, and we'll take good care of you." The ruse succeeded, and man by man the company from right to left threw down their arms and marched to the rear. Everything went well until the man next to the left guide was reached, who, not seeing any soldiers supporting Porter, and suspecting the trick, came to charge bayonet and demanded that Porter surrender. The boot was now on the other leg, but Porter dexterously seized the musket and endeavored to wrest it away from the soldier. Several comrades came to the man's assistance, and in the mêlée Porter was thrown down and wounded in the hand. Struggling to his feet, he told his assailants they were surrounded and if they did not cease their resistance he would put them to death. This created a slight diversion, and at this juncture Lieutenant Chatfield, of the militia, at the head of the Cayuga Rifles, came up, thus relieving Porter of an embarrassing situation and securing the prisoners as well. This story smacks of the political campaign more than of the particular campaign with which this narrative deals, but it may be true. In any event, Porter, in his official report, mentions Chatfield as one "by whose intrepidity I was, during the action, extricated from the most *unpleasant* situation."



On the twenty-first Drummond in great haste retired to the old position of the British at Chippewa Creek, leaving some of his stores at Fort Erie and destroying others at Frenchman's Creek. The raising of the siege showed how severely Drummond felt the sortie if his reports do not. It practically closed the campaign upon the Niagara frontier, which since July 3, 1814, had waged with great fierceness.

The following table of losses is interesting, although it should be remembered it does not include the losses in skirmishes and minor combats, which were constantly taking place. It is taken from General Wright's *Life of Scott*, and differs very slightly from the figures already given.

	Total British Loss.	Total American Loss.
Battle of Chippewa, July 5th, 1814.....	507	328
Battle of Niagara (Lundy's Lane), July 25th, 1814.....	878	860
Battle of Fort Erie, August 15th, 1814.....	905	84
Sortie at Fort Erie, September 17th, 1814.....	800	511
Total . . . . .	3,090	1,783

When we consider that neither side had over 4,000, if that number of men, engaged at any time, the immense percentage of loss will be appreciated.

General James Miller, writing two days after the sortie says:

"I was ordered to advance and get into the enemy's works before the column had beaten the enemy sufficiently to meet us at the batteries. We had no alternative but to fall on them, beat them, and take them. It was a sore job for us. My command consisted of the 9th, 11th, and 19th Regiments. Colonel Aspinwall commanded the 9th and 19th and Colonel Bedel the 11th. Colonel Aspinwall lost his left arm, Major Trimble of the 19th was severely, I believe mortally, wounded through the body. Captain Hale of the 11th killed; Captain Ingersoll of the 9th wounded in the head, and eight other officers severely wounded some of them mortally. Colonel Bedel was the only officer higher than a lieutenant in my whole command but what was killed or wounded."



After Drummond left our front the fort was garrisoned with a small force; and the volunteers, who were praised on all sides for their steadiness and bravery during the whole campaign, and especially the sortie, were dismissed to their homes. General Brown put the matter in a few words when he said in a letter to Governor Tompkins, "The militia of New York have redeemed their character — they behaved gallantly."

The raising of the siege was completely decisive, and the pioneers along the frontier could again rest in peace without the disturbing thought that they might be scalped or burned out, or both, before another day dawned. The fort was occupied until November 5, 1814, when it was blown up and destroyed and the stores and garrison withdrawn to Buffalo, its possession being no longer of value.

## GENERAL SCOTT AT LUNDY'S LANE.

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BY GEORGE DOUGLAS EMERSON.

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Winfield Scott will always be classed among the great captains that the American Republic has given to the world. Nature was very generous in endowing him with many qualities requisite for such a career. He was tall, considerably over six feet in height, massive build, powerful frame, capable of unlimited endurance, with a fiery, impetuous nature that brooked no delay when once the line of action was decided upon, and with swiftness and rare good judgment in determining such action. He came to the Niagara frontier as a lieutenant-colonel of artillery in the early fall of 1812, at which time he was but twenty-six years of age, in the fullness of his early manhood and burning with zeal and ambition to bear his part in the struggle then beginning. Little wonder is it that an officer of his capacity should at once become a prominent character. He passed quickly from lieutenant-colonel to the higher ranks of colonel and brigadier-general, to which grade he was promoted March 9, 1814. He crossed Niagara river to the assault on Queenston Heights, October 13, 1812, and from that time until 10 o'clock or perhaps a little later in the closing hours of the bloody contest at Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814, when he was badly wounded and compelled to retire from active service, he was one of the foremost spirits in the campaign. In June, 1814, there was a reorganization of the American army on the Niagara frontier. Major-General Jacob Brown came as the commander, with Winfield Scott and E. W. Ripley each commanding a brigade of regulars and Peter B. Porter, the volunteers and militia. A small force of artillery and mounted men were also attached to this command. After the battle of Chippewa, July 5, 1814, came a pause of two or three days, the British troops retired north, and the American army, under General Brown, fol-

lowed, taking up a position at Queenston Heights. From that time until the 24th of July, there was a series of movements and counter-movements somewhat indefinite in their purpose as we study war in these days, and in which the American commander, brave and capable soldier as he was and loyal to his country and flag during many years of continuous service, seems to have acted upon the theory of what he thought the enemy ought to be doing rather than any positive knowledge of what he actually was doing. July 24th the American army lay encamped at Chippewa south of the creek. Scott's command, at this time, known as the First Brigade, consisted of the Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Regiments of United States Infantry, all troops of the regular army, but mere skeletons of regiments, numbering perhaps all told 1,000 men. Towson's battery was also officially attached to this brigade. During the night of the twenty-fourth, a large British force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, moved south and took up position along Lundy's Lane, the left east of the Queenston road, the right extending toward the south somewhat obliquely, with a battery of artillery placed on a knoll in front of the center stationed along the lane. To these were added before the close of the battle heavy reinforcements under General Phineas Riall and the commander-in-chief Lieutenant-General Drummond. I assume that the majority of the members of this Association are familiar with the geographical features of this memorable location, but possibly there may be some present who are not, and so I will be pardoned for taking a moment to describe the general outlines of the battlefield and its environments.

The Queenston road is an old road skirting the Niagara river at varying distances from the bank, according as the river winds and bends — theoretically a north and south road but really more northeast and southwest. This was the road traversed in movements between Chippewa and Queenston. Lundy's Lane runs westward toward the lake at right angles, joining the Queenston road about a mile back of and up a considerable rise of ground from Niagara Falls, Canada. There is now a street cut through continuing Lundy's Lane to the river, but at the time of the battle there was only a pathway. Proceeding up the hill along the lane, less than a half mile from the junction point, on the south side, an old cemetery is reached within whose confines some of the

most desperate fighting of the battle took place. The country here is said to be the highest in that part of Canada and a far-reaching view of the surrounding country is obtained. The land slopes both ways, north and south. In front of the cemetery, Lundy's Lane is a sunken road, but I am unable to say whether it was such at the time of the battle. Just within the cemetery, whose first grave bears the date 1797, the Canadian government has erected a well designed and well executed battle monument commemorating the battle of Lundy's Lane and a few yards from this, on an equally high knoll, were posted the cannon captured by Colonel Miller and which earlier caused much havoc in Scott's command.

No one who has visited the field can fail to be impressed with the strength of this position. The movements seems to have been executed entirely without the knowledge or discovery of the American troops. During the twenty-fifth, however, an outpost under Captain Odell reported considerable bodies of British troops in the vicinity of Niagara Falls. This aroused General Brown's suspicion, but still acting upon the theory which he had formed to his own satisfaction that a part of the British troops were on the east side of the river on their way to attack Schlosser the storehouse of the American supplies, he concluded that but a remnant of the British army was in his front, and that the easiest and quickest way to counteract the supposed British movement on the east side of the Niagara was by a movement against the enemy's fortified points to the north. General Scott had asked for permission to move forward and been refused. He waited impatiently through the hot, sultry July day until about 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, when he received the much coveted order to advance with his brigade, together with two pieces of artillery under Captain Towson, and a small company of mounted men under Captain Harris. It was never necessary to instruct General Scott to move rapidly and his brigade was soon in motion along the old Queenston road, and Captain Odell of the Twenty-third Infantry in charge of the picket one-half mile north of Chippewa, reports that the troops passed him between 5 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon. On nearing the residence of Mrs. Wilson, a widow whose home was east of the road, just west or back of Table Rock, a number of British officers were seen to emerge from the house, mount horses and ride away. Mrs.



Wilson informed General Scott in very smooth and plausible terms that the British in large numbers were posted just beyond the woods not far away. The general doubted the story and pushed on, the mounted men in advance, and the Ninth Regiment thrown out as a flanking party. A halt was soon called and the order of march changed. The Ninth Regiment was called into column, the mounted men sent to the rear and the Twenty-fifth Regiment, under Major Thomas S. Jessup, ordered to make a detour east of the Queenston road and feel for the enemy's left flank. This movement was most successfully executed, and among the minor movements of the entire war none exceed it in completeness or brilliancy. They moved cautiously through the brush undiscovered and finally struck the British left flank extending east of the Queenston road, pushed it back across the road upon the center, and secured possession of the road. In making this swinging movement to the left, the British general, Riall, second in command, and his staff, were taken prisoners. In the meantime, Scott, moving along the main road, encountered several parties of British troops who retired before his advance. A small wood beyond Mrs. Wilson's and left of the road was passed and once in the open the situation was revealed, and the heavy, long line of the British force with artillery on the eminence far above them came into view. Without a moment's hesitation, Scott turned his column to the left into what was apparently a farm clearing, then to the front again facing the enemy, the regiments forming a line in the following order from left to right: Eleventh, Twenty-second, Ninth, Towson's two guns came up and took position at the right of the Ninth. I suppose the contingent of mounted men under Captain Harris remained on earth somewhere but just where at this particular epoch in their career the record saith not. The British fire at this time upon the devoted band at the foot of the hill was heavy and continuous, both artillery and musketry, and the dead and wounded were dropping out of line. Portions of the British infantry several times moved down into the opening to make a closer attack but they failed to break the solid though rapidly depleting lines of the Americans, who stood their ground with a tenacity that was marvelous. Owing to the rise of ground in his front, Towson was unable to elevate his guns suf-

ficiently to do effective service and he ceased firing. The Commander of the Eleventh Regiment, Major McNeil, who early in the fight was badly wounded and with so many officers, as well as the rank and file, killed and wounded that the remnant of the regiment attached themselves to the Ninth. The same experience was shared by the Twenty-second, whose commander, Colonel Hugh Brady, was also badly wounded, and many officers and men wounded or killed. During the contest, the remnants of the three regiments were consolidated so that at its close all that composed Scott's Brigade of the infantry was the Ninth Battalion, made up of such survivors of the Ninth, Eleventh and Twenty-second Regiments, as were able to keep in line, and the Twenty-fifth which was still battling way over at the right by the Queenston road. Scott had early reported the situation to General Brown and at about 9 o'clock, Ripley's brigade, the Second, arrived from Chippewa, coming along the Queenston Road, and formed to the right of Scott's, but quickly moved forward and further to the left. Soon after came that remarkable exhibition of American prowess and daring — the capture of the British guns on the hill by the Twenty-first United States Infantry under Colonel James Miller, a story that will be rehearsed as long as the annals of the American army endure. Porter also reached the scene of action with his volunteers, and later there came a new alignment. Scott's troops, which practically had been battling all the evening with the enemy's right and resisted every attack, meeting one by a counter attack, during which they passed in between and beyond the captured cannon at the top of the hill, were sent to the right over by the Queenston Road. Ripley still held the center on the high ground captured from the enemy, and Porter's volunteers formed the left. It was after this new formation, near the close of the fight and while at the extreme right with the Twenty-fifth Regiment, that Scott was wounded. The British again and again returned to the attack but failed to dislodge the Americans from their position on the hill. Darkness gathered and what little light had been given by the moon, as is alleged by some, was entirely obscured by the dense volume of smoke gathered above the combatants. At times the lines approached within a few yards of each other and fired directly into each other's faces. It is even

claimed that there was hand to hand fighting over the guns in the effort both to capture by the Americans and to retake them, by the British. The exact facts are so much in dispute that I do not feel justified in wearying you with details other than those which are generally admitted to be correct. The battle commenced shortly before sunset, on a hot July day, and lasted until about midnight, when commanders and subordinates disabled and with an unprecedented loss in killed and wounded, both armies exhausted, it ceased, as we may say, by common consent, and at this time 20 per cent. of the fighting force lay upon the field killed or wounded.

I am not here, however, to discuss the battle of Lundy's Lane in its entirety, nor have I to do with what followed. General Scott at Lundy's Lane — what shall we say of him? Like all noted men, Scott had his peculiarities — we may even call them weaknesses, but no man ever yet questioned his courage or disputed the claim that he was brave even to recklessness. At Queenston, at Fort George, at Chippewa, at Lundy's Lane, he was ever present in the thickest of the fighting with apparently never a care for his own personal safety. It should be remembered, too, that battles were not then fought under the direction of commanders far in the rear and telephoning or telegraphing orders along the line, but the chief had to be in direct contact with his troops and with them regardless of danger or position. Was he justified in opening the battle at Lundy's Lane as described? I fail to see how Scott could have acted otherwise than he did. He had reached the limit to which he could advance without assistance. He could not retreat. The force of the enemy in his front was so great that to retreat would have meant demoralization not only to his own corps but to the balance of the army, and I venture the remark that if Scott had attempted it his regiments would have dissolved and the entire American army been dispersed or captured in less than forty-eight hours. There was but one thing to do — take a bold position and maintain it until support could be received. He did this and did it successfully showing thereby his supreme confidence in himself and the men whom he commanded without which no leader can be at his best. I recall a somewhat similar incident, but on a larger scale, which



occurred in our own Civil War. When the Confederate troops, under Robert E. Lee, were discovered moving toward Gettysburg, the last of June, 1863, Major-General John Fulton Reynolds of the Union Army, threw his First Army Corps directly across their path. It was a bold movement — the Union troops were defeated and driven back — many of his men were killed or captured — General Reynolds lost his life, but the movement delayed the advance of the Confederates to the extent that General Meade was able to gather the army of the Potomac around the impregnable rocky defenses of Gettysburg instead of their being occupied by the enemy, which would have changed entirely the history of that campaign.

The history of war is full of the heroic sacrifices of individuals for the benefit of the larger forces. From a military standpoint, someone undoubtedly blundered in not ascertaining more positively the numbers and movements of the British troops before the battle at Lundy's Lane, but I cannot help thinking that it was just as well, if not better, that our brave but somewhat diminutive army did not know what they were up against, and were practically forced into a position where, as we may say:

Their's not to make reply,  
Their's not to reason why,  
Their's but to do or die.

For the numbers engaged and the territory involved, the battle of Lundy's Lane was one of the most fiercely contested in the military annals of this country. Neither army was made up of cowards or shirks. It was British pluck pitted against Yankee courage, and none of all engaged stood this test more valiantly, more steadfastly than the brave men of the First Brigade under Winfield Scott.



## THE MILITARY CAREER AND CHARACTER OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK.

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BY LT.-COL. ERNEST CRUIKSHANK.

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Sir Isaac Brock is unquestionably one of the most thoroughly heroic and admirable figures in Canadian history. His military capacities and tireless exertions in a great crisis decisively shaped the course of events to ensure the retention of Western Canada as a province of the British Empire. His inspiring presence, eloquent words and unfailing courtesy and tact, made him a popular hero and endeared his memory to all who served under him. In their opinion he was ranked with Nelson and Wellington, and many children were given his name. Twelve years after his death a modest memorial was erected on Queenston Heights by the Legislature of Upper Canada, and after it had been wrecked by an act of dastardly malice, a much more appropriate and imposing monument was raised in its place thirty years later by voluntary subscriptions from the militia and Indians. His life has been written by three separate biographers and many of his letters and general orders have been published. It may be safely affirmed that he was the only commander who showed marked military ability during this war.

He was born in the Island of Guernsey in October, 1769, and was accordingly the same age as Napoleon and Wellington. As a boy he excelled in boxing and swimming and does not seem to have been particularly studious. A commission in the Eighth Regiment was purchased for him at the age of fifteen, and twelve years later he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-ninth Regiment. For two years of this interval he had been stationed in the West Indies, but he had seen no active service. In August, 1799, he commanded his battalion in the expedition to Holland under

the Duke of York. In his first action at Egmont-op-Zee he displayed great courage and coolness, and received a slight wound but refused to leave the field. This short and rather inglorious campaign was on the whole a striking example of the manner in which war ought not to be conducted. In February, 1801, his corps was detailed for service as marines in the fleet destined for the Baltic, and suffered severely in the attack upon the Danish batteries at Copenhagen, in which Nelson exemplified his motto to "strike quick and home" in a manner in which he never forgot and quoted afterward in the supreme moment of his career. A year later the regiment was ordered to Canada whence few indeed of them lived to return. Here there was small chance of distinction and less opportunity for study of military training. The Forty-ninth was sent at once to the upper province and distributed in detachments among the military posts extending from Kingston to Amherstburg, the headquarters being established at York, now Toronto. Two years of residence and travel in the province familiarized him with its topography and resources and he became well acquainted with most of the leading inhabitants, corresponding with some of them for years after his departure from it. In the autumn of 1805 he revisited England on a long leave of absence, returning to Quebec in June, 1806, to take command of the military forces in Lower Canada with the rank of Colonel. The *Chesapeake* incident in 1807 brought Sir James Craig to Canada as Governor-General with a considerable force of regular troops, and for many months war with the United States seemed almost inevitable. During this period Brock had the inestimable advantage of being closely associated with that capable soldier who was reputed to be one of the best educated and ablest commanders in the British army, and had seen war in every quarter of the globe. He was taken into his confidence as to the plan of operations to be pursued in that event and frequently quotes Craig in his official correspondence during the war. Among his associates at this time were Edward Baynes, the Adjutant-General, and James Kempt, Quartermaster-General, whose advice was doubtless profitable. The prospect of war gradually passed away and he was superseded in command by the arrival of a senior officer, and eagerly sought active employment elsewhere without success. "I must see service," he wrote, "or I may as well, or

indeed much better quit the army at once, for not one advantage can I reasonably look for hereafter if I remain buried in this inactive, remote corner." He warmly approved of Craig's coercive measures to repress disaffection in Lower Canada at this time which he asserted were absolutely necessary to maintain peace and avert "the horrors of civil commotion." In the summer of 1810, the arrival of a senior brigadier caused his removal to Upper Canada, in which he acquiesced with some bitterness of spirit. "Since all my efforts to get more actively employed have failed; since fate decrees that the best portion of my life is to be wasted in inaction in the Canadas, I am rather pleased with the prospect of removing upwards." In the Spanish Peninsula the land was burning; Wellington had begun to win victories and Brock was eager to serve under him. This hope he never ceased to cherish until he became too actively employed to desire it. He was encouraged to persist in his efforts by his friend Kempt, who in fact soon obtained a command in Portugal, and assured him that there was *little doubt but he would secure active* employment as soon as he returned to England. "The arrival of Baron de Rottenburg," Brock wrote, has, I think, diminished my prospect of advancement in this country. I should stand evidently in my own light if I did not court fortune elsewhere." But his repeated efforts to obtain leave of absence to push his claims were constantly unsuccessful. Craig assured him of his desire to assist him, but as he was obliged to return to England himself, he thought it necessary "to leave the country in the best state of security." But as a mark of his particular regard he presented him with his favorite charger in the "firm conviction" that the whole continent could not supply him with "so safe and excellent a horse." Soon after his return to Upper Canada, Brock visited every part of the frontier from Cornwall to Detroit, and inspected all military posts. He established his headquarters at Fort George (Niagara), and settled down for a hard course of study. "I read much," he wrote to his mother, "but good books are scarce, and I hate borrowing. I like to read a book quickly and afterward revert to such passages as have made the deepest impression, and which appear to me important to remember, a practice I cannot conveniently pursue unless the book is mine. Should you find that I am likely to remain here, I wish you to send me some



choice authors in history, particularly ancient history with maps and the best translation of ancient works." A list of books then in his possession has been preserved: Shakespeare, Pope, Johnson, Hume, Plutarch, Translations of Virgil and Horace, Rollin's Ancient History, A Life of Condè, The Expedition to Holland, The King of Prussia's Tactics, Wolfe's General Orders in English, Voltaire's *Henriade* and *Siècle de Louis Quatorze*, Fenelon's *Telemaque*, Guibert's *Ocuvres Militaires*, *Reglement de l'Infanti Erudition Militaire* and *Reflexions sur les Prejuges Militaires*, in French. Newspapers were hard to get and contained little information; mails from Europe arrived at long and uncertain intervals, a letter sometimes being three and even four months on the way. He entertained liberally and occasionally visited the seat of Government at York, traveling over the worst of roads in the early spring for this purpose. Everywhere he made friends by the natural frankness and kindliness of his manners, and there was scarcely a person of note in the province with whom he had not become acquainted. On the 4th of June, 1811, the King's birthday, Brock was gazetted a Major-General, and a friend in England after congratulating him observed: "It may perhaps be your fate to go to the Mediterranean but the Peninsula is the most direct road to the honour of the Bath and as you are an ambitious man that is the station you would prefer." When he received this letter the war clouds were fast gathering about him where he was. Threatening speeches in Congress and military preparations all pointed in one direction until Randolph of Roanoke exclaimed "Since the report of the Committee (on Foreign Relations) came into the House we have heard but one word like the whip-poor-will's monotonous note, Canada, Canada, Canada." The war party made no attempt to conceal their designs for the conquest of all the British provinces which was regarded as a mere matter of marching and issuing a proclamation.

Lieutenant-Governor Gore, who had contrived not only to become personally unpopular but to excite the hostility of a majority of the House of Assembly, was so much perturbed by the prospect that he obtained a year's leave of absence and returned to England with the avowed intention of remaining there until the war was over. On October 9, 1811, Brock was in consequence



sworn in as President of the Executive Council and assumed the administration of the Civil Government. At the time his qualifications for the performance of his new duties must have seemed slender indeed. But he was affable and popular. "At present," he wrote, sedately, "All classes profess great regard and esteem for me but although I hope they may, I cannot expect such sentiments will continue long. If I retain the friendship of the considerate and thoughtful I shall be satisfied and I shall strive to merit the good opinion of such men." The question of defense naturally absorbed much of his attention. In a long letter to the Governor-General dated December 2, 1811, he remarked that owing to the small military force in the province the general opinion was that "no opposition, in the event of hostilities, was intended. The late increase of ammunition and every species of stores, the substitution of a strong regiment, and the appointment of a military person to administer the Government, have intended to infuse other sentiments among the most reflecting part of the community, and I feel happy in being able to assure your Excellency that during my visit last week to Niagara I received the most satisfactory professions of determination on the part of the principal inhabitants to exert every means in their power in defense of their property and support of the Government. \* \* \* Although perfectly aware of the number of improper characters who have obtained extensive possessions and whose principles diffuse a spirit of insubordination very adverse to all military institutions, yet I feel confident a large majority will prove faithful. It is, however, certain that the best policy to be pursued should future circumstances call for active preparations, will be to act with the utmost liberality and as if no mistrust existed. For unless the inhabitants give an active and efficient aid, it will be utterly impossible for the very limited number of the military who are likely to be employed, to preserve the province." The three most important objects to be obtained were the organization and equipment of the militia, the maintenance of a dominant naval force on the lakes, and the co-operation of the Western Indians. Before the latter could be secured, he pointed out with notable foresight that the capture of Mackinac and Detroit must convince them that Great Britain

was earnestly engaged in the struggle. For although the Indians feared and hated the Americans, yet they mistrusted the British, as they believed they had been sacrificed to their policy at the time of Jay's Treaty. Above all a strong regular force was needful "to animate the loyal and control the disaffected." He urged that a strong regiment should be sent to Kingston and another to Niagara when he proposed to move the whole of the Forty-first with some siege guns to Amherstburg to be in readiness to commence a vigorous offensive as soon as war was declared. He recommended the construction of additional war ships on the lakes and the speedy despatch of seamen and the Royal Newfoundland Regiment as marines to render the naval force thoroughly efficient. He also proposed to select two flank companies from each militia regiment to receive a special course instruction, and the enlistment of a volunteer corps of 1,200 men. As he had no regular cavalry, and the field artillery stationed in the province was unprovided with horses or drivers, he had already authorized the foundation of a troop of provincial dragoons and a corps of volunteer artillery drivers. He advised that the two great fur companies having their headquarters at Montreal should be asked to exert their powerful influence. Some of the tribes near the Wabash, influenced by the Shawnee Prophet, had already engaged in hostilities in spite of the efforts made by the officers of the British Indian Department to dissuade them. He was assured that the Indians generally were "eager for an opportunity to avenge the numerous injuries of which they complain and anticipated that in the event of an important initial success, the whole of their fighting force between the Wabash and Mississippi, numbering possibly 4,000 warriors, would at once take up arms against the United States.

In his reply dated December 24th, Prevost remarked that the "President's message was certainly full of gunpowder" and that the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs conveyed "sentiments of such decided hostility toward Great Britain" that he recommended him to take every possible precaution for defense, and concurred with him as to the advantages to be derived from giving the first blow. His intended reorganization of the militia was approved nor did he hesitate to sanction his proposal to secure the assistance of the Indians.

"The utmost caution should be used in our language to them," be observed, "and all direct explanation should be delayed, if possible, until hostilities are more certain, though whenever the subject is adverted to, I think it would be advisable always to intimate that as a matter of course we shall, in the event of war, expect the aid of our brothers. Although I am sensible this requires delicacy, still it should be done so as not to be misunderstood."

With the neighboring Indians he was able to communicate through those veteran officers of the department, Claus, Elliott, and McKee, but he was forced to seek another channel to reach the more distant nations. Robert Dickson, a trader of twenty years' experience and unrivalled influence among the Indians on the Mississippi and Missouri, had volunteered his services before taking his departure for his winter quarters at Prairie du Chien. On February 27, 1812, a message was despatched to him stating that war might result from the present state of affairs and requesting him to report how many of his friends could be depended upon in that event. The messengers were detained and searched by the garrison of Chicago but they had taken the precaution to hide their papers in the soles of their moccasins, and they were allowed to proceed. After travelling more than 2,000 miles in search of Dickson, they at length found him at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers early in May. On the 18th of June, the very day war was declared, he replied that he had sent off eighty trusty warriors to Amherstburg and would arrive at St. Josephs about the 30th of that month with 250 or 300 more.

The commandant at Amherstburg was instructed to purchase all the flour, grain, and salt pork he could procure on either side of the river, and Brock continued to urge incessantly but without success the necessity of a reinforcement of regular troops with heavy artillery to enable him to take the offensive in that quarter as soon as hostilities began.

The Legislature met on the 3d of February for its final session. Brock's speech from the throne was most vigorous and outspoken. He referred to imminent probability of war with the United States and assured the members that the province would be defended to



the last extremity and that no peace would ever be signed by Great Britain that would cede a single inch of territory. His resolute and confident bearing had a marked effect.

"The most powerful opponents to Governor Gore's administration take the lead on the present occasion," he wrote, on the 12th, "I, of course, do not think it expedient to damp the ardor displayed by these once doubtful characters. Some opposed Mr. Gore evidently from personal motives, but never forfeited the right of being remembered among the most loyal. Few, very few, I believe, were actuated by base or unworthy considerations however mistaken they may have been on various occasions. Their character will very soon be put to a severe test."

He proposed, in fact, four highly important measures. These were a supplementary militia act of a very drastic character; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, an alien act, and a bill offering a considerable reward for the apprehension of deserters. When these measures came to be considered in the House of Assembly they were found to be too extreme to meet the views of a majority of the members. The militia bill contained an oath of abjuration which was struck out in committee by the casting vote of the chairman, and the act for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was also defeated by a trifling majority. The opposition to these measures was led by Joseph Willcocks, editor of the "Guardian" newspaper, and Benajah Mallony, both of whom were already more than suspected of disaffection and seditious conduct.

"The great influence which the fear and number of settlers from the United States possess over the decisions of the Lower House, is truly alarming," Brock wrote on the 25th of February, "and ought by every practical means to be diminished. \* \* \*

A strong sentiment now prevails that war is not likely to occur with the United States, which I believe tended to influence the votes of members — I mean of such who though honest, are by their ignorance easily betrayed into error." The amended Militia Act was, however, a distinct improvement upon the former one. The officer administering the government was authorized to form two flank companies in each militia regiment which might be trained six times a month and called into active service for a period not exceeding six months at a time, when they might be



required to march to any part of the province. It also provided for a small pension for any militiaman disabled in service and for the widows and children of any who were killed. Five thousand pounds were appropriated for the enforcement of the act.

Brock did not conceal his disappointment at the defeat of the bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus.

"Liable to the constant inroads of the most abandoned characters who seek impunity in this province from crimes of high enormity," Brock wrote to Lord Liverpool, "surrounded by a population a great part of which profess strong American feelings and attachments, it will not, I hope, be deemed unreasonable if I should be desirous at a time like the present to be clothed in conjunction with His Majesty's Executive Council, with the means so well calculated to maintain the public tranquillity."

The elections for the new House of Assembly were warmly contested in many instances. Mallony was defeated by Lieut.-Colonel Nichol and among twenty-five successful candidates no less than sixteen held commissions in the militia and with but two exceptions all subsequently proved themselves staunch loyalists.

No time was lost in putting the new Militia Act into effect by the organization of flank companies, and non-commissioned officers of the Forty-first Regiment were detailed to act as drill instructors. Engineer officers were assigned for duty on the Detroit and Niagara frontiers to superintend the construction and repair of the fortifications. A master builder and a party of ship-wrights were brought from Albany to build an armed schooner at York. Learning that bodies of armed men in plain clothes, supposed to be New York militia, had appeared at Buffalo and Lewiston, and that some firing across the river had actually occurred, Brock proceeded to Niagara in the latter part of April, visiting Fort Erie, Port Dover, and the Indian villages on the Grand River, returning to York by way of the head of Lake Ontario, on May 12th. He found that the flank companies had been quickly filled up with volunteers of the best class, and every person whom he met assured him that the best possible disposition prevailed among the people. Recruiting for the Glengarry Light Infantry had also been carried on with much success, 500 men having been enlisted in five weeks and the establishment was

doubled in consequence. Three hundred recruits for the Forty-first Regiment, mainly volunteers from the Wiltshire Militia, arrived at Quebec and were at once sent forward to Upper Canada, together with a strong detachment from the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, consisting of boatmen and artificers who would be useful for service on the lakes. As a further encouragement to recruiting, Brock urged that the family of every regular soldier or militiaman who lost his life in active service, should be thereby entitled to a free grant of land.

The lack of gold and silver money had already caused considerable inconvenience to the public service and Brock proposed that he should be authorized to issue government notes varying in value from five shillings to £10 and not exceeding in the whole £10,000 or £15,000, which, in the event of war, would mean a great relief if the commissariat was directed to receive this paper money as cash. "The older inhabitants," he said, "understood perfectly the circulation of paper as a substitute for specie, and having been formerly in the habit of receiving the notes of private individuals, they would not hesitate taking the more certain security of government, especially if convinced that payment could not be made in any other way."

Nor did he relax his efforts to retain the good will of the Indians and at the same time restrain them from beginning hostilities prematurely. Colonel Claus was dispatched to Amherstburg upon this difficult mission with instructions to place himself in communication with their leading chiefs. Latterly Brock was disposed to doubt the policy of the standing instructions given to the officers of the Indian Department in this respect and bluntly observed that "each time they advise peace and withhold the accustomed supply of ammunition, their influence will diminish until they lose it altogether." By his direction, however, a considerable number of these Indians, including Tecumseh, for their most gifted and influential leader, were induced to assemble at Amherstburg, where they were detained on various pretexts until the declaration of war became known.

While approving in a general way of these preparations for defense, the instructions from the Governor-General were peremptory to avoid giving any provocation. "Whatever temptations

may offer to induce you to depart from a system strictly defensive, I must possibly request that under the existing circumstances of our relations with the government of the United States, you will not allow them to lead you into any measure bearing the character of offense, even should a declaration of war be laid on the table of Congress by the President's influence, because I am informed by our Minister at Washington there prevails throughout the United States a great unwillingness to enter upon hostilities, and also because the apparent neglect at Detroit might be but a bait to tempt us to an act of aggression."

Early in June the headquarters of the Forty-first Regiment were removed to Niagara, and Brock soon after sailed from Fort Erie for Amherstburg taking with him 100 men of that regiment to reinforce the garrison. On his arrival there he learned that an American force, estimated at 2,000 men, was marching from Ohio to Detroit, and after inspecting the fortifications and giving general instructions for the defense of the frontier, he returned to York. While at that place on the 27th of June, information of the declaration of war arrived, and he hurried at once to the Niagara frontier where he believed that the first attempt at invasion would be made. His general orders indicate great activity and vigilance in circumstances of extreme difficulty and uncertainty. For the defense of that line he had thirty men of the Royal Artillery and 600 of the Forty-first. The fortifications had been nearly stripped of artillery for the defense of Amherstburg and the guns ordered from Kingston to rearm them had not yet arrived. Nine hundred militia were at once called into service with the intention of attacking Fort Niagara which might have been taken with ease had not Brock found himself restrained by the most imperative instructions. His troops were unprovided with tents, blankets, haversacks, or kettles. He was unable to arm the whole of the militia and they were wholly destitute of accoutrements and uniform clothing. The field artillery had been provided with horses and drivers but there was no field train of any description and he had not a single officer of the Quartermaster-General's department at his command. There was no general staff and no medicine staff, no commissariat, nor pay department. He was separated from his base of supplies by near a



thousand miles of inland navigation and an ocean wider than any earthly sea will ever be again, for every pound of shot, every ounce of lead and every article of clothing and such necessities of existence as salted provisions, hard biscuit, and salt must be imported from Great Britain. At Quebec these stores were usually transferred from sailing vessels into a river steamer which conveyed them to Montreal whence they were conveyed by wagons to Lachine, loaded in batteaux which carried them to Kingston, where they were again transferred to sailing vessels if the lake was open, or conveyed to their destination in wagons or sleighs if it was closed. Staff officers were selected with Brock's customary good judgment and discernment. Captain John B. Glegg of the Forty-ninth, Lieut.-Colonel John Macdonell Attorney-General of the Province, and Major James Givins, an officer of much local knowledge who spoke several Indian dialects, were appointed aids-de-camp. Lieut.-Colonel Robert Nichol of Port Dover was made Quartermaster-General of militia and Major James Cummings of Chippewa, Deputy Quartermaster-General. A better choice could scarcely have been made as these gentlemen had business connections in all parts of the province and were noted for their personal enterprise and energy. As far as was practicable every man of influence was assigned some duty to perform in the line of service for which he was best adapted. The frontier was divided into four sections, a chain of signal stations was arranged to transmit information rapidly by day or night, and parties of dragoons detailed at every point to carry messages. The troops were sheltered in farm buildings and efforts made to supply them with improvised camp kettles and haversacks.

One of the General's first acts on arriving at Fort George was to liberate several American gentlemen who had been visiting the town when the news of the declaration of war became known, and were detained as prisoners, and to send them across the river under the escort of Captain Glegg who was instructed to ask the commandant at Fort Niagara whether he had any official notice of the existence of hostilities. Although he received an answer in the negative and continued in this state of uncertainty for more than a week, he neglected no means of strengthening his position. Batteries were thrown up along the river in the most suit-



able localities for opposing a landing. Although Glegg relates that he disliked being worried about little details, his forethought was evident in every department of the public service. By the 6th of July he had satisfied himself that there was so little danger of an immediate attack that he went to York for the transaction of civil business, returning to Niagara three days later. While at York he published a proclamation formally announcing the existence of war and requiring all persons to manifest their loyalty by the vigilant performance of the duties required of them. Finding that the number of troops opposed to him on the Niagara had been materially reduced, he permitted half of his militia to return home to harvest their crops. But he then learned that a strong force had arrived at Detroit from Ohio and another was assembling at Ogdensburg, apparently for the purpose of cutting his line of communication with Montreal. Nor was the internal state of the province by any means reassuring. It contained possibly 80,000 inhabitants scattered along the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie and their tributary streams, on a strip of land a mile or two in width and near 800 miles in length. With the exception of the four small towns of Kingston, York, Niagara and Amherstburg, none of which contained more than 1,000 persons, and a few insignificant villages, this population lived mainly in isolated clearings in the woods.

About one-fifth of the inhabitants were United Empire Loyalists or their descendants; another fifth were British immigrants or French Canadians, who were very numerous along the Detroit River; the remaining three-fifths were recent immigrants from the United States, allured by free grants of land, or fugitives from justice. The number of persons liable for service in the militia was estimated at 11,000, of whom the Governor-General significantly remarked that it would not be prudent to arm more than 4,000. The apathy, if not positive disaffection, of many was quite apparent.

"There can be no doubt," Brock wrote from Fort George on July 12th, "that a large portion of the population in this neighborhood are sincere in their professions to defend the country, but it appears likewise evident, that the greater part are either indifferent to what is passing or so completely American as to re-

joice in the prospect of a change of government. Many who now consider our means inadequate would readily take an active part were the regular troops increased. These cool calculators are numerous in all societies."

On that very day General Hull had crossed the Detroit River, but his invasion did not become known to Brock until the twentieth, when he wrote to the Governor-General that "a general sentiment prevails that with the present force resistance is unavailing," and warned him that if the communication between Kingston and Montreal should be cut, the province would certainly be lost, but added resolutely, "I shall continue to exert myself to the utmost to overcome every difficulty." The whole number of regular troops in the province amounted to 1,658 of all ranks. Of these the men of the Tenth Royal Veteran Battalion, 200 strong, were unfit for field service and were stationed in garrison at Kingston, with one company at St. Josephs. The Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 368 of all ranks, were detailed for service on the lakes. There remained eighty artillerymen and the First Battalion of the Forty-first Regiment, 1,014 of all ranks. Six hundred and thirty of these were stationed on the Niagara, 230 on the Detroit, and the remainder distributed between York and Kingston.

Two days later he published a most vigorous and effective reply to Hull's proclamation. He recalled the men of the flank companies on furlough and ordered Captain Chambers, with fifty men of the Forty-first, to advance from Fort George to Moraviantown on the Thames where 200 local militiamen were directed to join him and to check any inroad in that direction. Colonel Procter was sent to assume the command at Amherstburg until Brock himself was at liberty to proceed thither, as he deemed it essential to be at hand during the session of the Legislature.

Discouraging news continued to come from Amherstburg. The militia assembled there became so panic-stricken and demoralized that half of them deserted. Some of the inhabitants had openly joined the invaders and many more had taken an oath of neutrality. The Grand River Indians announced their intention of remaining neutral, and the Norfolk Militia refused to join Captain Chambers. So serious did the situation appear on July 26th

that Brock wrote that without strong reinforcements the people "could not be roused to meet the present crisis."

Hamilton Merritt with a few Provincial Dragoons was hastily despatched westward, while Brock himself went to York to open the extra session of the Legislature. His speech was spirited and hopeful in tone, breathing a confidence he did not feel. "I speak loud and look big," he wrote to his friend Baynes. At this session he contented himself with recommending amendments to the militia act and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus although he foresaw that he would be disappointed. "A more decent house," he said, "has not been elected since the formation of the Province, but I perceived at once that I shall get no good of them. They, like the magistrates and others in office, evidently mean to remain passive. The repeal of the Habeas Corpus will not pass, and if I have to recourse to the law martial, I am told the whole armed force will disperse." A day or two later he wrote in the same tone of profound discouragement: "The population, believe me, is essentially bad — a full belief possesses them all that this province must inevitably succumb — this prepossession is fatal to every exertion. Legislators, magistrates militia officers, all have imbibed the idea, and are so sluggish and indifferent that the artful and active scoundrel is allowed to parade the country without interruption and commit all imaginable mischief. They are so alarmed of offending that they rather encourage than repress disorder and other improper acts."

At this moment when the outlook was darkest, the tide began to turn.

As soon as he learned that war had been declared he had instructed Captain Roberts, the commandant at St. Joseph's Island, to attempt the capture of Mackinac. Robert Dickson had opportunely arrived a few days before with 300 Indians, and Roberts was thus enabled to accumulate an overwhelming force and take the American fort without firing a shot. The Indians of the vicinity were confirmed in their previous inclination to join the British, and General Hull was at once placed in a position of decided danger and difficulty. When this success was announced to the York militia they volunteered for active service in any part of the province and 100 were ordered to proceed to Port Dover



where Brock determined to assemble a force for the relief of Amherstburg. He hastened again to the Niagara and despatched sixty picked men of the Forty-first in a small schooner to the scene of hostilities leaving but 300 regulars and 500 militia with a war vessel anchored on each flank, as a containing force on that frontier. Returning to York he prorogued the Legislature as soon as he secured a vote placing all the funds in the treasury at his disposal for the defense of the country, and further replenished his military chest by borrowing several thousand pounds from leading merchants. Crossing the lake to Burlington, he marched at the head of a company of volunteers enlisted there through the Indian villages on the Grand river, and secured a promise that fifty warriors would join him at Amherstburg in a week. Pushing on to Port Dover he found 500 militia assembled with Chambers' detachment of fifty regulars. Nichol, his energetic Quartermaster-General of militia, by tremendous exertions had only succeeded in collecting boats enough to convey 400 men, and a day was lost in putting these in a condition to float, when every hour was of vital importance. Brock at once addressed the militia with his usual ardor and force. Every man volunteered without hesitation. Three hundred and fifty were selected to accompany him and the remainder ordered to march by land with the dragoons. Several leading inhabitants who were accused of disaffection were arrested and hurried off to Niagara. On August 8th the flotilla of small craft got under way from Port Dover, and for five days and nights battled with the winds and waves of Lake Erie, arriving at Amherstburg after midnight August 13-14. During the voyage Brock constantly gained favor among his followers by his example in the cheerful endurance of hardships and stimulating words. He shared all their privations, and when it was necessary to run the boats on shore, he was the first man to spring into the water. To a subaltern officer who said something was impossible, he replied "That word impossible ought not to be found in a soldier's dictionary." When a young militiaman asked him what he should do if his officers should happen to be killed, he said, "If your lieutenant falls, take his place; if your captain falls, take his place; if your colonel falls, take his place."



He found the militia situated more favorable than he had anticipated. A considerable number of Indians had joined Colonel Procter who threw a force across the river to cut General Hull's line of communications. A strong detachment escorting the mail was ambushed and routed. This reverse following close upon the fall of Mackinac constrained Hull to retire from Canada and shut himself up in Detroit. Procter at once reoccupied Sandwich, which he began to fortify.

During all these operations the British commanders had possessed an inestimable advantage by having control of the lakes. Brock was thus enabled to move troops and stores quickly and easily from Fort George and York to Burlington, and from Fort Erie to Amherstburg. The position on the Niagara was secured by armed vessels on the flanks while his flotilla was moving up Lake Erie. General Hull was prevented from receiving any supplies by water, while Procter was enabled to pass troops from side to side of Detroit without molestation.

Brock's first act after his arrival at Amherstburg was to publish a general order congratulating his troops on the evacuation of the province by the invaders and thanking them for their good conduct. The defection of the militia was tactfully attributed to "anxiety to get in their harvests, and not for any predilection for the principles or Government of the United States." He announced his intention of employing the whole force of the country to drive the enemy to such a distance as to ensure its tranquillity. He attacked his task with his usual passionate energy. Everybody was set to work at high pressure. The batteries at Sandwich were completed and armed. The war vessels were moved up the river in view of Detroit. The recreant militia were gathered in and addressed with telling effect. The Indians were assembled and harangued with such fervor that Tecumseh signified his approval by exclaiming with enthusiasm: "This is man." Boats were prepared for the passage of the river and in twenty-four hours he was ready to move. The Fifteenth was consumed in the march to Sandwich. Brock had then under arms a force of 1,360 of all ranks including seamen, of whom however, only 352 were regular infantry, besides 600 Indians. A considerable number must necessarily be detached for duty at Amherstburg and in the bat-

teries at Sandwich, or upon the vessels in the river. Deducting these, not more than 750 men would be available for field service. The force occupying Detroit was believed to be at least equal to his own, strongly posted and well provided with artillery. A lucky chance had put him in possession of hundreds of letters written to their friends by officers and soldiers in Hull's army, which satisfied him that they were greatly discontented and had lost all confidence in their general. Contrary to the opinion of his principal officers, he determined to cross the river. To many this seemed not only an audacious but a desperate measure. His reply was "that the state of the province admitted of nothing but desperate remedies." At dawn next morning the crossing began, Brock himself leading the way in the first boat. During the passage he stood erect and was one of the first to land. He then learned that his opponent had weakened himself by detaching 400 men to bring up supplies, and determined to attack him before they could be recalled. No expedient was neglected to deceive and intimidate him before delivering the assault. Part of the militia were disguised in the cast-off uniforms of the Forty-first Regiment, the Indians were marched three times in single file through an opening in the woods, and an ostentatious display made of his force as it approached the town. These devices succeeded beyond his utmost expectations for a flag of truce was hoisted on the wall and an officer came to propose a cessation of hostilities for three days. He replied hotly that if the place was not surrendered in three hours he would blow it off the face of the earth. His elderly antagonist seems to have been fairly paralyzed by the rapidity and decision of his movements and meekly sought for terms.

In his hour of triumph Brock lost no opportunity of stimulating the zeal of his troops by due recognition of their services. The surrender of Detroit was attributed to the "state of discipline they so eminently displayed and the determination they evinced to undertake the most hazardous enterprise." With respect to the force which had accompanied him from Port Dover, he said: "in no instance have I witnessed greater cheerfulness than was displayed by these troops under the fatigue of a long journey in boats and during extremely bad weather, and it is but justice

to this little band to add that their conduct throughout excited my admiration." Every officer of rank was personally mentioned in this despatch. He publicly presented his own sash to Tecumseh. He sent for Private Dean of the Forty-first Regiment, who had been taken prisoner after defending his post to the last extremity, and shook his hand warmly, saying he was a credit to his corps.

Within forty-eight hours after the capitulation was signed, Brock was on his way to Niagara with the fixed intention of assuming the offensive on that frontier in the hope of ending the campaign by the capture of Fort Niagara and the destruction of the naval depot at Sackett's Harbor. We now know that he could scarcely have failed, for Lovett, General Van Rensselaer's private secretary, frankly acknowledged that they could not have defended the former post for a single hour.

Upon his arrival at Fort Erie he learned to his great disappointment that the Governor-General had concluded an armistice which effectually tied his hands for an indefinite period. The news of his success spread rapidly and had an indescribable effect on both sides of the river. His journey from Fort Erie to Niagara was a triumphal procession. All of the leading inhabitants turned out on horseback to ride in his train. There was no longer any talk of submission or fear of invasion. Dismay and alarm filled the minds of his opponents.

On August 27th Brock was again at York where he was warmly welcomed. Replying to an address of congratulation he ascribed the credit of his success to the brave men at whose head he marched. "It was a confidence founded on their loyalty, zeal, and valor that determined me to adopt the plan of operations which led to so fortunate a termination. Allow me to congratulate you, gentlemen, at having sent out from among yourselves a portion of that gallant band, and that at such a period a spirit has manifested itself on which you may confidently repose your hopes of future security."

Three days later he sailed for Kingston to inspect the militia stationed there, for he anticipated that hostilities would soon be renewed, and privately expressed the opinion that nothing could be more unfortunate than this pause. He did not reach Kingston



until the 4th of September, and learned on landing that the armistice was in fact to terminate in four days. Replying to the customary address of welcome, he again referred to the admirable conduct of the York and Lincoln militia and expressed the belief that he could "rely with equal confidence on the discipline and gallantry" of the militia of the Kingston district. In the afternoon of the following day he sailed for Niagara, arriving there on September 7th.

The cessation of hostilities had been utilized to the best advantage by his adversary in moving troops and stores on Lake Ontario to that frontier, and there was every indication of his intention to assume the offensive. Although Van Rensselaer's force had been greatly augmented, Brock still felt confident that he could drive him from all his positions along the river had he not been restrained by the most positive instructions. He was able to report on September 18th that he had implicitly obeyed orders and "abstained under great temptation and provocation from every act of hostility." To his brother he wrote, that he had "evidenced greater forbearance than was ever practised on any former occasion." He had been joined by six companies of his former regiment, the Forty-ninth, and two of the Royal Newfoundland, and felt stronger than ever before. He had not lost a man by death from any cause, nor by desertion on that frontier since the war began, while many deserters from the regular regiments on the other side had come to him. Several who attempted to swim the river were drowned in the effort. His activity never relaxed and wonderfully impressed his opponents. Their letters clearly show how it dominated their minds.

Lovett writes: "Every three or four miles on every prominent point or eminence, there you see a snug battery thrown up, and the last saucy *arguments of Kings* poking their white noses and round black nostrils right upon your face, ready to spit fire, ball, and brimstone in your very teeth if you were to offer to turn squatter on John Bull's land. \* \* \* No sooner did we approach with our cavalcade than away ran expresses on the opposite shore at full speed." Again, "our situation is daily becoming more and more *interesting*, to say the least of it. I do not know that I ought to call it *critical*, though I know that some



think it so. What may be the views of the enemy, we know not; they are flushed with victory and concentrating their forces very fast against us." And again, "Give Mrs. Lovett the enclosed. It contains an impression of General Brock's seal with his most appropriate motto: "He who guards, never sleeps."

A spy or confidential agent in Canada reported that: "General Brock has paid attention to every particular that can relate to the future resources of the Province under his charge, as well as to its immediate defence. The harvest has been got in tolerable well, and greater preparation is making for sowing grain than was ever made before. The militia duty is modified as much as possible to suit the circumstances of the people, and measures taken to prevent them from feeling the burden of the war. The women work in the fields, encouragement being given for that purpose \* \* \*. The success of General Brock established the change of sentiment. He has since made the most of it, has become personally highly popular, and in short has taken every measure that a judicious officer could take in his circumstances for the securing of this Province."

Most of the artillery taken at Detroit was brought down to arm the batteries, and the captured small arms were distributed among the militia. Two hundred and fifty of the Forty-first were left to garrison Amherstburg and Detroit, the remainder returned to Niagara. About 300 hundred Indians were also assembled but these were constantly coming and going. "They may serve to intimidate," Brock observed, "but no effective service can be expected from this degenerate race." For a month nothing occurred but desultory firing across the river which caused a bitter feeling of hostility between the troops. During this time, however, General Van Rensselaer had been accumulating men and material of war until he had assembled almost 8,000 troops of whom about half were regulars. Of these, 1,650 regulars and 386 detached militia, besides a considerable force of Indians, seamen, and local militia were stationed at Buffalo and Black Rock. Two thousand militia from Pennsylvania were also on the march to that place and a considerable number of boats had been prepared for the passage of the river there. Eleven hundred regulars were encamped near Fort Niagara and 900 regulars and 2,270 detached militia between the Falls and Lewis-

ton. Many small boats were collected at the Four Mile Pond in rear of Fort Niagara and in Gill Creek above the Falls. This force on the whole seems to have been well provided with field artillery and stores of every kind.

To defend a front of thirty-five miles against this formidable array, Brock had thirty men of the Royal Artillery with five field guns, a troop of militia drivers, a troop of Provincial Dragoons, fifteen companies of regular infantry with an effective strength of 900, and fourteen flank companies of militia with an effective strength of about 500. In an emergency possibly 300 Indians and 500 additional militia might be brought forward within twenty-four hours. The extremities of his position were two days' march apart. Six Companies of regulars and four of militia were stationed at Fort Erie, one regular company and four militia companies at Chippewa, two companies of regulars and two of militia at Queenston, two militia companies at the batteries on the river below, while the remainder of his troops were quartered in the town and fort at Niagara. A chain of outposts and patrols maintained constant communication between these posts. During the night one-third of the men in quarters were kept constantly clothed and accoutred, with arms at hand in readiness to turn out at a moment's warning, and the whole force was put under arms every morning at the first break of day and were not dismissed until broad daylight when distant objects could be distinctly seen. Such continued vigilance naturally entailed great fatigue.

Van Rensselaer determined to cross the river at Queenston where the river was so narrow that his artillery could cover the landing, and the concentration of his troops would be screened by the adjacent woods. By the occupation of the heights the British line would be cut, and their left could then be quickly rolled up, Fort George taken, and their shipping driven from the mouth of the river. His design was cleverly masked by the retention of a large body of troops until the last moment near Fort Niagara, which in fact misled Brock and prevented him from reinforcing the detachment at Queenston even after an attempt had been made to cross there on the morning the 11th of October. On the ninth he had been suddenly summoned to Fort Erie by a successful boat attack upon two small armed vessels

lying at anchor there. A spy reported that he had gone to Detroit, and Van Rensselaer hoped to profit by his absence. He returned, however, next day, riding both ways on horseback.

The passage of the river began before dawn on the morning of the 13th, and when day broke, probably 500 men had landed and formed under cover of the steep bank of the river at the foot of the heights where their further advance had been checked by two companies of the Forty-ninth, and some militia. A strong detachment of the invaders led by Captain Wool of the Thirteenth United States Regiment, then scrambled unseen by an unguarded and difficult path to the crest of the escarpment and took the battery on the mountain side in reverse. Brock had been engaged until midnight preparing orders, and was aroused from sleep at Niagara by the distant sound of artillery before 4 o'clock. He was in the act of mounting his horse when a dragoon rode up to announce the landing of the enemy. He gave orders for two field guns and a party of Indians to follow him, and rode away at full speed accompanied only by his aids Glegg and Macdonnell. At the batteries along the river he paused long enough to order the militia companies to march to the scene of action. It was broad daylight when he arrived at Queenston well splashed with mud. The men of the Forty-ninth welcomed their former colonel with a hearty cheer, and he rode forward at once to the battery on the hillside above. Here he dismounted and gazed intently upon the river and troops massed beyond. Watching the flight of a shell which burst prematurely, he advised the gunner to use a longer fuse. Then a shout was heard and he saw a body of American troops charging upon the battery from above. There was no time to mount, and leading their horses by the bridles, the three officers ran rapidly down the slope, followed by the men serving the guns. After sending a message to Niagara to hasten the march of reinforcements, Brock rode to the further end of the village where the light company of the Forty-ninth was awaiting orders, and led it at a run to the foot of the heights where he told them to take their breath as they would need it in a moment, an announcement which provoked a loud cheer. The grenadier company of the Forty-ninth and Chisholm's company of the York militia were next brought up, leaving a few men behind to keep the Americans at the landing in check. Captain Williams



with a section of the light company and the whole of the militia was detached by the right to ascend the heights by a roundabout route, and threaten the flank of the American position. This movement was observed by Wool who sent a party to oppose it, which seemed to be driven back in some confusion after a brief interchange of shots. Deeming that this was an auspicious moment for a frontal attack, Brock sprang over a stone wall which sheltered his party, and led the way directly upon the battery, waving his sword and shouting to his men to follow. The ground was slippery and the ascent difficult. The fire from above began to tell. The line wavered and some men began to fall to the rear. "This is the first time I have ever seen the Forty-ninth turn their backs," he shouted angrily, and the ranks promptly closed. Macdonnell then brought up two militia companies which had just arrived from the batteries below much exhausted, as they had run all the way. But at the same time Wool had been strongly reinforced, and Brock led his men to the right with the evident intention of joining Williams, calling to Macdonnell to push on the York Volunteers. A bullet struck him on the wrist of his sword-arm, to which he paid no attention. His tall robust figure and energetic gestures, as well as conspicuous position, made him a target for many rifles, and finally he fell to the ground with a mortal wound exclaiming, "My fall must not be noticed or impede my brave companions from advancing to victory." He expired in a few minutes and his body was conveyed to a house in Queenston where it remained until the close of the action.

He died performing the duty of a subaltern officer, but doubtless felt that the emergency demanded this sacrifice. His death was regarded by his friends as an irreparable loss, but slightly compensated by their subsequent success, as he had united all parties. He was lamented even by his antagonists who could not fail to respect his courage, courtesy and nobility of character. Van Rensselaer directed a general salute to be fired for his funeral both at Lewiston and Fort Niagara as "a just tribute of respect for the gallant dead." Brock's successor, Sheaffe, himself a Bostonian by birth, acknowledged it by saying "I feel too strongly the tribute which you propose to pay to my departed friend and chief, to be able to express the sense I entertain of it. Noble-minded as he was, so would he have done himself."

## THE CAUSES AND RESULTS OF THE FAILURE OF THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGNS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER IN THE SECOND WAR WITH ENGLAND

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[A paper prepared and read by Irvin W. Near, of Hornell, N. Y., at the ninth annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, at Buffalo, N. Y., on September 17 and 18, 1907.]

MR. PRESIDENT.—It has been, and is yet the chimney corner reason for the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain, in June, 1812, was the wrongful and unlawful taking and impressment of English-born men from American ships, both national and private, upon the ocean, by superior force, by boarding, searching and carrying away those persons who were born on British soil, upon the principle, that "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman"—that the rule of expatriation did not exist. The English statesmen held, "That it was not in the power of any private subject to shake off his allegiance and transfer it to a foreign prince; nor was it in the power of any foreign prince, by naturalizing or employing a subject of Great Britain to dissolve the bond of allegiance between the subject and the crown. Entering into foreign service, without the consent of the sovereign or refusing to leave such service, when required by proclamation, is a misdemeanor at common law." On the 16th of October, 1807, only a few days of one hundred years since, the King of England, declared by proclamation, "That the kingdom was menaced and endangered by the disturbed and critical condition of all Europe, caused by the brilliant and alarming successes of Napoleon the Great, recalled from foreign service, all seamen and seafaring men, who were natural born subjects of Great Britain, and ordered them to withdraw themselves, and return home, on pain of being proceeded against for

contempt. It was therein further declared, that no foreign letters of naturalization, could in any manner divest his natural-born subjects of their allegiance, or alter their duty to their lawful sovereign."

Until a recent date — 1870 — English judges have insisted, that no subject could relieve himself of the duty of allegiance, save by the consent of his native county; and American jurists following their interpretation of the common law, which they claimed had been unchanged by the Revolution, substantially acquiesced in the decisions of the English bench. In point of authority therefore, English diplomats were far better fortified than their American opponents. Acting upon their position and contention, Britain claimed the right to search neutral vessels for deserters from the royal navy, and carry them away and impress them into their naval service, without question or hindrance. The commanders of British vessels had practically, under directions of the admiralty, asserted this right for many years; and thousands of American seamen had been forcibly taken from American vessels, on the pretense that they were suspected deserters and compelled to serve under a flag they had abjured and detested. To every remonstrance through the voice of diplomacy, their unavoidable answer had been, "It is our ancient right and custom and we cannot afford to abandon or suspend a right upon which the naval strength of our empire depends;" and governed by the ethics of force, "Might makes right," they not only persisted in, but increased their vigilance under their position.

This doctrine prevailed, not without dissention in the United State, until by the Act of Congress of July 27, 1868, in which the Congress declared the right of expatriation to be the natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and thereby the claim of foreign allegiance was promptly and finally disavowed, and all naturalized citizens were entitled to the same protection afforded to native-born citizens. In Great Britain, the principal was abandoned by the Act of 33 Vic. in 1870, and further settled the question by the treaty with the United States of 1870, urged thereto by a royal commission, which advised her Majesty, that the common law doctrine on non-expatriation was



neither reasonable or convenient, and that the necessity therefor no longer existed.

In resisting the English insistence in this respect, the popular position was in direct opposition to the long established British right, sustained by American judicial authority; in that recognized principle, the United States had no standing to ignore it, and declare war to prevent the arrest and carrying away of natural-born Englishmen found upon its ships, and were handicapped by the criticisms of those of its citizens opposed to the war, and obstructed its prosecution. The affair of the Chesapeake and Leopard, disgraceful and unauthorized, occurred in 1807, during the administration of Jefferson, aroused a war spirit throughout the United States, which was apparently not shared in by the President and his advisers, who persisted in its "Terrapin Policy," preferring to adhere to the Embargo Act; satisfaction was sought for the outrage by diplomacy without obtaining any adequate reparation. The war spirit was again aroused by the disavowal by the British government of an arrangement made in good faith with Erskine, the British minister at Washington, concerning a repeal of an order in council, made in 1809, against the right of search, and modifying the expatriation rule, which had been acted upon, resulting in great damage to American shipping.

Madison, a polemic, rather than an unflinching and courageous statesman, in view of this treatment and by the acts of the Indians in the northwest, incited by English emissaries, was reluctantly compelled by a determined Congress in June, 1812, to declare war against England, and in the prosecution of that war, instead of making the ocean, where all the grievances had arisen, and where all the wrongs had been committed, the principal theatre of operations for the satisfaction of our humiliations and losses, resolved upon the invasion and conquest of Canada. Why, has never been satisfactorily explained; the lessons of the attempts and failures of the campaigns in the War of the Revolution, for that accomplishment, were ignored; subsequent demonstrations, the fiasco of 1837, known as the "Patriot War," the Fenian Invasion of 1866, the notorious decided sympathy expressed by these then provinces, during the war between the States, emphasize the criminally mistaken plans and policy of the United States, in

1812. The inhabitants of Canada had never asked for, or expressed a desire for separation from the parent government, or any assistance for that object; but contrary and upon the lessons of the past, and the present, it was apparent, and ought to have been presumed, that the Canadians would stoutly and loyally resist to death, any invasion of their territory for that purpose; they had no confidence in the stability of the United States. The fierce warring factions of Federalists and Republicans did not attract them, they preferred to remain as they were, rather than disaster in the adverse currents of centralization and states' rights, or the patriotic impulses of the central, southern and western states in conflict with the opposition and hindering course of New England.

The invasion and conquest of Canada by way of the Niagara frontier, and its western border was resolved upon. For that purpose a lot of fossilized old gentlemen, having some long by-gone and obsolete military experience, more on dress parade, than on gory fields, were made Generals, and assigned to important commands; among whom, were Henry Dearborn, long a political favorite in sunny administration circles, a hobbling Commander-in-chief, then too old and infirm to even take the field in person, unable, as Madison had hoped to reconcile Massachusetts to the war, by his personal influence, and like most military commanders first invested with plenary powers at such a crisis, a sufferer by the popular reaction, from its first overwrought expectations.

James Wilkinson was next summoned to the front, another decaying veteran, battered by his long journey from the land of the cypress, smirched in reputation, because of his connection with the "Conway Cabal," far less trustworthy than Dearborn, because deficient in those moral qualities which inspire respect.

James Armstrong, author of the "Infamous Newburg Letter of address to the Army," was Secretary of War, holding the rank of Major-General, a revolutionary comrade of Wilkinson at Burgoyne's surrender; the two became very intimate and chummy at Washington, only to despise each other from the moment they compared plans for the invasion and conquest of Canada.

Wade Hampton a fiery South Carolinian, had been a partizan with Marion, in the War for Independence, was another General,

and was second in command, hated Wilkinson bitterly and opened his mind freely to the Secretary; he was one of the richest planters at the south, the largest slave owner in the United States; he was haughty, unapproachable and imperious by his nature, impulses and training, was unfitted to direct, command or gain the willing co-operation and aid of the men from the north and west.

William Hull, a soldier of the Revolution, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, a political favorite, always vacillating and uncertain, was made a general, his subsequent career was inglorious.

These old revolutionary officers, jealous of each other, would not bear with complacency, commands from one of their number who might be superior in official station; they were a decided disadvantage to the service from the beginning, and until they were succeeded by younger men, our armies were generally unsuccessful.

Generals in the State militia were given commands without reference to their fitness, conspicuous among these were Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Patroon, William Wadsworth, Peter B. Porter, George McClure, Jacob Brown, George Izard; the last two, were men of ability and gained distinction and merited promotion.

At the very commencement of the war, General William Hull, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, crossed the Detroit River, into Canada, at Malden, with over a thousand men, with his avowed purpose of marching through Canada, and the capture of Montreal, he issued a bombastic proclamation to the Canadians, tendering them the blessings of civil and religious liberty, assuring them in a lofty tone that his forces were sufficient to break down all opposition, promising protection to the inhabitants, unless found fighting with the Indians, in which event, no mercy would be shown. A month was spent in ruinous delay, Hull hearing that he was threatened by the British and Indians, retreated in haste to Detroit, which place was immediately invested by the British General, Isaac Brock, with over two thousand men, and at once demanded the surrender of the city and its garrison; arrangements had been made for a stubborn resistance; at the time



the conflict was expected to begin, on August 16, 1812, Hull to the surprise of his men, hung out a white flag, and against the remonstrance and the indignation of all his officers, surrendered not only his forces, but the entire territory of which he was governor. This dastardly act of Hull can only be attributed to his imbecility and cowardice — he made Benedict Arnold respectable. Hull was pardoned by the President, because of his former services although a court-martial condemned him to be shot. This was the passing of the first favored imbecile. For his success General Brock was knighted, and became Sir Isaac Brock.

The second attempt to invade Canada, more disastrous than Hull's surrender — for more men were killed or wounded, to say nothing of prisoners, than Hull had in his entire command — was made on the Niagara frontier. General Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Patroon, another incompetent, who would never been thought of for such a position, but for his great wealth, was selected, and resolved to capture the Heights of Queenston, on the left bank of the Niagara river; on October 13, 1812, Van Rensselaer sent two small columns across the river, under the command of his kinsman, Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, Lieut.-Colonel Winfield Scott holding a command, was kept several miles in the rear, asked to accompany the attacking party, was refused, for the reason, it is inferred, that all the honors be kept in the family. The attempt, owing to the efforts of Captain John E. Wool, who in person prevented another white flag episode, was partially successful. General Brock, who was at Fort George, several miles below, hastened to the battleground, and attempted to rally his fleeing troops, when his knighthood was in flower, received a mortal wound, and died soon after; the American militia became panic-stricken, fled down the steep banks, recrossed the river, taking therefor all the boats they could find. Lieut.-Colonel Scott, who had arrived at Lewiston, crossed the river and joined the troops as a volunteer; he was requested to take active command, and by his inspiring personality and commanding voice induced his troops to fall upon a large number of Indians led by the Chief John Brant, with such vigor, the Indians fled to the woods in terror. General Van Rensselaer hastened across the river to the American shore, as he avowed, to send over reinforcements of mili-

tia; they were exhorted by him as if they were his tenantry, they refused to go to the aid of their comrades in peril, availing themselves of the right to refuse to serve only in their own states; Van Rensselaer, like the cat, "never came back." The British were largely reinforced, the Americans, for the reasons just stated, received no aid; after bravely resisting another attack, were compelled to surrender, and were made prisoners of war. Immediately thereafter, General Van Rensselaer resigned, and left the service, his only commendable act during this unfortunate campaign. He is entitled to credit in his after life, for his efforts in the Geological Survey of the State of New York, and the establishment at Troy, N. Y., of a most excellent school. He was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth, of Virginia, who accomplished nothing but vanity in his lurid-boastings and promises of his intentions; he was possessed of windy composition which inspired some hope of success. The big moment for the invasion of Canada at the head of the Niagara River, approached, Smyth had assembled at Black Rock 4,500 men, in addition to regulars and volunteers from Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York, the latter under the command of General Porter, then a member of Congress from his district. Notwithstanding the sonorous promises of to-morrows and embarkation to the music of Yankee Doodle, one or two stirring attempts were made but to fail; this opera bouffe war disgusted the soldiers; their ardor was dampened; on the first of December of that year, a council of war decided to abandon the invasion for the year; the militia and volunteers were dismissed to their homes, the regulars were ordered into winter quarters. The blame of these failures was attributed by the soldiers to their commander, so highly were they exasperated that all discipline was lost, insubordination prevailed. General Porter openly charged Smyth with cowardice, a challenge followed, the two crossed to Grand Island to fight a duel; upon arriving at the field of honor, the brave generals shook hands, fell upon each others necks and made up.

Thus ended the first campaign against Canada in the War of 1812, so unfortunately and disgracefully to the invaders.

In May, 1813, the Americans, led by Colonel Winfield Scott, occupied Forts Erie and Chippewa, after they had been abandoned

by the British, first spiking the guns and destroying all the ammunition and stores, retreated towards the head of Lake Ontario, a body of Americans, led by Generals Winder and Chandler, pursued and overtook the British at Stony Creek; they were attacked at midnight, and this resulted in the capture of both Chandler and Winder, who, in the darkness, had got separated from their commands and blundered into the ranks of the enemy; it now became the turn of the Americans to retreat, hotly pursued. The Americans won the race, they reached Fort George in safety, their loss was not serious — only two generals.

Late in the following month Colonel Boestler was sent with 600 men to capture the guns and stores at Beaver Dams; he was attacked by Canadian militia and Indians with great fury. Hearing that a much larger force was approaching, Boestler, emulating the example of his superiors in arms, surrendered his whole force — the Americans had well learned this feat. Emboldened by these successes, the British became aggressive on the Niagara frontier, closely invested Fort George; in July they crossed the river from Fort Erie, captured Black Rock — the militia, as usual, running away. General Porter, in command at Buffalo, rallied a few militiamen and about fifty volunteer citizens, drove the invaders back across the river, with the loss of their commander, Colonel Bishopp.

Distressing events closed the campaign of this year — 1813 — on the Niagara frontier. Early in December, General McClure — another favored incompetent — regarding Fort George, of which he was then in command, as untenable, with the garrison, abandoned it, and crossed over to Fort Niagara; before leaving Canada he set fire to the beautiful and unoffending village of Newark, near by, without any adequate cause or provocation; 150 houses were destroyed, scores of peaceable men, women and children were turned into the severely keen wintry air, without sufficient clothing, homeless and wanderers. This wanton, barbarous act aroused the most fiery and unrestrained indignation; fierce retaliation followed; the British captured Fort Niagara, and massacred part of the garrison; their Indian allies were given full liberty to plunder and destroy; every village on the New York side of the river was sacked and burned; Black Rock and



Buffalo, though defended by some troops under General Porter, did not escape. Buffalo contained about 2,000 inhabitants, all but four of its buildings were laid in ashes, an immense amount of public property was destroyed; this retaliation did not stop on this frontier; it inspired the revengful ravages by the British of the shores of Chesapeake Bay, and the capture, sacking and burning of Washington, thereby inflicting a wound which ages will not cure — a scar left which time will scarcely efface; all primarily or indirectly aroused and determined by the wanton, inexcusable and uncivilized act of McClure against the peaceful and inoffensive Canadian village of Newark.

These events closed the campaign of 1813, on the Niagara frontier. What had the Americans gained? Only disaster, slaughter and mortification, all caused directly by the inefficient and imbecile management of the war by the administration and its favorites in authority.

Though the thrilling sensation of touching an enemies soil had been repeatedly felt, it took the fruitless campaigns of two years, to teach our people that the British provinces could not be carried at a dash, nor Canada pierced by an army of raw, though brave and enthusiastic recruits, officered by political generals "Invincible in peace, invisable in war." That the Canadians were brave, attached to the crown, was made apparent, and subsequent years have demonstrated. In the year at hand, the coming general of the Americans, for Canadian operations was developed — Jacob Brown, a plain farmer of Quaker parentage, who held a militia general's commission from Governor Tompkins, of New York.

The year 1814 opened with the adherence of the Secretary of War, for the invasion of Canada, by way of the St. Lawrence, and as a necessary preliminary step the capture of Kingston, to conceal the movement and leave no enemy in the rear, General Brown, then a major-general, commenced operations on the peninsula between Lakes Erie and Ontario. There was good fighting this year on the Canadian border; the military Molochs having been displaced; Dearborn was in retirement, Hull disposed of, Winchester and others prisoners of war in Canada, Wilkinson a subject of inquiry by a military court, presided over by General Izard

of South Carolina, and Hampton relieved. Brown was in command on the Niagara Frontier, he was prudent and courageous; and his youthful brigadiers, Scott, Gaines, Porter and Miller, reflected honor on the American arms; the soldiers themselves, seasoned by this time to war, and understanding that invasion was no holiday tour, moved with precision and fought as heroes. The two best years for Canadian operations had passed fruitlessly away, the dreaded British reinforcements, fresh from the wars with Napoleon, now began to arrive at Montreal and Quebec, a region where the American army had not gained a single advantage. Vermont and New York were alarmed by the dreaded invasion. The whole northern war, in fact, became transformed without one fixed and determined purpose in the Washington administration, into a creature of chance and circumstance.

On July 2d General Brown crossed the river from Buffalo, invested and captured Fort Erie, with the intention to march down the Niagara River on its left bank to Lake Ontario, where Commodore Chauncey was to transport his forces to co-operate with the plan to invade Canada by way of the St. Lawrence, as directed by the Secretary.

Immediately following the possession of Fort Erie, Brown pursued a corps of observation down the river till it crossed Chippewa Creek and united with the main force under General Riall, who, observing them approach, contemptuously exclaimed, "Nothing but Buffalo Militia;" but when he saw them under fire, he said, with a profane exclamation, "Why these are Regulars." This well-fought battle was on July 5th, and resulted in the complete route of the British. The invasion of Canada now seemed more near realization.

On July 25th the Americans resumed the march down the river, and met the British, who had been reinforced by the veterans of Wellington, commanded by Lieutenant-General Drummond, at Lundy's Lane, near the cataract of Niagara; here the severest battle on the Niagara frontier was fought, determined only by the arithmetic of slaughter; here Colonel James Miller won imperishable fame, who in reply to an inquiry from General Brown, who directed his attention to a battery of seven brass pieces that was doing dreadful slaughter to the Americans, "Can you take that

battery?" replied in words that have become immortal in American annals: "I'll try, Sir;" he succeeded and retained possession of it, to the astonishment of the English veterans, until the enemy retired from the field. Brown, Scott and Jessup were all severely wounded, the command devolved upon the inefficient Ripley; Brown ordered him to take possession of the captured battery before daylight, that always tardy and disobedient officer hesitated to obey, pending his delay the British returned, retook the battery and held the field, for this reason the British have claimed this fight as theirs ever since.

Brown dragged his shattered frame to Fort Erie in season to repulse the British who assailed it. But of all these sanguinary conflicts, the miserable recompense was the capture of one British fort, opposite Buffalo, which Izard, who arrived with reinforcements in September to assume command, had to abandon and blow up; after in vain offering battle to the enemy, subsequent to the brilliant sortie and destruction of the British investments and approaches. It was certain that the American army could not safely quarter for the winter on the Canada side. "The most that can be fairly hoped, is that the campaign may end where it is," wrote Madison to Jefferson, October 23, 1814.

With these unprofitable events the foolish and abortive attempt for the conquest of Canada ended; the invasion had resulted in displaying the valor of the Anglo-Saxon race, strewing glorious fields with their bones, and that the fruits of peace rather than the efforts of war should be their joint occupation.

In this last year of the war a new star had arisen in the southwest, whose genius gave a different aspect to the military operations of the Americans — Andrew Jackson — unlettered, of rare executive ability, supreme courage and determination, was engaged in devising plans for the defense of Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley, entirely independent and free from the obstructive interference at Washington; and while the five commissioners at Ghent were wrangling over the terms of a treaty whose inside history has never been written, silent upon the alleged wrongs complained of, giving offense to the loyal party of the United States, despite the disaffection of the New England States, a sad episode of the war history to contemplate; the right of



search and impressment of seamen found on American vessels not even being mentioned; despite such silence that question had been settled by Hull, Decatur, Bainbridge, Stewart, Porter and others of our navy, they were the true peace envoys, and accomplished results; our ships had won more flags from the British navy in three years than all of her European rivals had done in a century.

Jackson, at New Orleans, had assumed supreme control; in its defense all classes were compelled to work on the defenses, here the equality of all Americans was gloriously demonstrated, here the colored laborer touched elbows with the haughty sons of wealth and refinement. Jackson was severely criticised by the mollycoddles of that day; like actions have since that day been, and are now applauded. The result of the Battle of New Orleans need not be recounted here; it was the only military event of the war that left a memorable impression on Europe. History records no example of so glorious a victory, obtained with so little bloodshed on the part of the victorious. Jackson returned to the rescued city in triumph, sheathed his stainless sword, bowed to the majesty of the suspended civil law, retired to his quiet Hermitage. News of two more victories on the ocean came simultaneously with intelligence of the signing of the treaty of peace. The war had concluded in a blaze of glory for America. Old military reputations had been slaughtered, but out of the trials, defeats and victories brave, bright and competent younger officers were moulded and developed, who gloriously filled their places with credit and distinction, conspicuous among these were Andrew Jackson, Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott.

# ABORIGINAL STONE IMPLEMENTS OF QUEENSBURY

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BY REV. O. C. AURINGER.

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## THE PALEOLITHIC.

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This department of archaeology, in respect to the Town of Queensbury, may be dismissed with a few words. Implements belonging to the Paleolithic, or most ancient stone age throughout the world, are notably lacking in collections made from Queensbury soil. While it would be unwise to say that such do not exist here, certainly no unquestionable examples have as yet been reported. It is quite probable that at that remote date in the quaternary period of the geologists, this part of our State, in common with the corresponding tracts of northern Europe, was still under the ice-sheet, or not yet emerged from the Great North Sea. That this view is a probability only, and not a certainty, may readily be admitted; for after all there *may* be remains of that period yet unnoted lying buried deep in the soil of this region — relics which later and more systematic examination shall bring to light. In my own collection of stone implements, gathered from Queensbury soil, there are two or three specimens which readily enough raise the question of the occupancy of this region by paleolithic man. One of these is a massive and beautifully worked flint, of the ovoid type, from Glen Lake, and in respect to its form, workmanship and the external condition of its material is identical with the earliest type of tool of human manufacture — The Chellian — of the ancient river deposits of southern England, and about Amiens in France. Another object is a broad and flat blade, worked on one surface only, partly disintegrated on the exterior, and corresponds in all respects with the characteristic Mousterian point of the rock-shelters of the Dordogne in France. But even two birds do not make a summer, and until companions of this pair of old warriors are forthcoming, the subject of paleolithic man in Queensbury can scarcely be one to command the attention of the student.

## THE NEOLITHIC.

The populations of the continent of America had not yet emerged from the stone age at the time of the arrival of Europeans. This was the Neolithic, or new stone, stage of development, the beginnings of which on this continent seem to have been contemporary with those in Europe; and the tract of country embracing Warren County furnishes abundant remains of the stone art of this period, from the earliest to the latest phases of the industry. The vast lapse of time which intervenes between the opening of that age and our own day will be appreciated when we recur to the fact that this stone art had its beginning far away and beyond the bronze age, which was at its close when Troy fell before the Greeks, in the days of which Homer wrote. Succeeding the age of bronze, came the iron age, when tools for human use were forged from smelted iron. The first lance and spear heads of flint, scrapers, hatchets and personal ornaments of the Neolithic period, were probably manufactured in Asia, the cradle of human invention. Thence the industry seems to have spread rapidly over the whole habitable earth, America sharing generously in the distribution. The fact that our continent alone among the others retained the art of weapon-making in stone down to so late a date as 500 years ago, suggests its separation from its neighbors, in the line of natural causes, at a very early period, and a consequent break of intercommunication and community of progress.

So, while remains of the most ancient stone work seem to be absent from the Queensbury tract, those of the next later age, from the beginning down, are every where found, and in astonishing abundance. To refer to the earliest of these tools, I have unearthed on several Queensbury sites, flint knives and lance heads so old that the original flint— itself about the hardest of stones— had so far changed in substance as to have become chalky white in color, and in some cases so soft as to permit whittling with a sharp knife. Other objects have suffered surface changes from the original dull black of the stone to a lustrous yellow, or buff, or mottled color, according to the difference in soils in which they were imbedded. Such changes in the appearance and structure of flint can come only through exceedingly long



and slow processes, and are occasioned by the percolation through soil of water charged with certain chemical elements, the effect upon the stone being the disintegration or final breaking down of one of the two kinds of silica of which it is composed.

One fact, inviting speculation as to these oldest Neolithic forms is, that nowhere in the State have I found, either in situ, or in collections, remains of this kind bearing such marks of extreme age, as those taken from the Queensbury and the adjoining tracts. They occur mainly on a few extensive sites about the southern end of Lake George; at East Lake George; at Glen Lake, and on a large site on the eastern town line about half way between Dunham's Bay and the Hudson River at Sandy Hill. These sites, which Dr. Beauchamp calls "Early Sites," are easily recognized by the initiated, on account of the kind of crops of remains that they yield. Massive spear, or lance heads — thick and heavy — yet in many cases as symmetrical and orderly in construction as if they had been wrought by graded machinery, instead of by hand and eye; knives of flint and fine sandstone, thin and carefully wrought, leaf-shaped in form and edged all around; flaked but unground axes of sandstone and quartzite, acutely edged; finely-shaped adzes and gouges of fine sandstone, of hollow and round-backed types; on the waterside sites large flaked disks of coarse sandstone, worked to an edge all around — such are the recognizable remains of probably the first tribe of human kind to inhabit this territory. And how imperishable as a whole these remains are! Some of them will remain intact in the earth to the end of the world — an indestructible link connecting the first with the last generations of human breed in the region. No mention has been made of arrow heads in connection with these early sites. I am of the opinion that the stone arrow head with which we are familiar is the product of a later day and population. For on such ground as has not been reoccupied since the disappearance of these old dwellers, there is only now and then an accidental specimen found; while at other places and associated with later remains they constitute the bulk of objects obtained. "Big Game!" is the involuntary exclamation of anyone viewing for the first time a collection from such sites. What was the big game? Reindeer, giant elk, mammoth? Certainly the thought is suggested, and may not, indeed, be far from the fact.

Following these traces of earliest man in Warren County, are the rather more broadly-sown relics of two succeeding populations of different habits and instincts from their predecessors, and in these same respects also differing quite as much from each other. Our present knowledge in the matter does not justify us in saying which was the earlier of the two — that people wide-spread over our area in their day, whose large, and often curiously decorated pestles and mortars of stone abundantly advertise them as an agricultural race of permanent establishment; or, on the other side, those most interesting of our forerunners, the Eskimo, or ancestor, or kin of the Eskimo, who, so far as our present light reveals, were the only true Lake Dwellers to whom we can point as once inhabiting our lands. For the sake of convenience only, we will turn our attention first, to the traces of the first-mentioned people, in an endeavor to outline their habitat, and realize to ourselves something of their character and employments. They were agriculturists, huntsmen and fishermen, drawing from soil and forest and lake and river, their means of living. This signifies that they were a people of active energy; ambitious, resourceful, with an eye to the main chance,— in short, in industrial affairs what the Mohawk was in war. They were inventive, with a decided instinct for art, shown in the decorative effects produced in the manufacture of their weapons and utensils. In their manipulation of stone, they were not satisfied with mere utility. They made an arrow or spear head an object of beauty to the eye, and manifested an accurate taste in the smoothness and symmetry of their pestles, when any roughly-dressed stone would have served as well in a practical way. They were makers of pottery, small and large vessels of mingled clay and finely pounded stone, fire-baked and elaborately decorated; though in common with those preceding and following them, they were wholly ignorant of metallurgy.

Beginning at the often-occupied settlement on the north bank of the Hudson River at the Big Bend, we will endeavor to trace the lines of their residence to the northward to Glen Lake, thence eastward into Washington County. Here at the rifts of the Hudson are found in the lower layers of soil quantities of their pottery, celts, knives, etc., while all to the north and northwest — along Clendon Brook and of course of Meadow Run, are yearly

ploughed up their cylindrical pestles with an occasional mortar; axes, knives, arrow heads and pottery in remarkable quantities. At the southern end of Glen Lake, on the plateau where the Glen Lake hotel now stands was a considerable village stretching thence to the elevated lands on the opposite bank of Meadow Run, where that stream enters the lake. Following the western shore of the lake in our survey, we find few traces till we reach the outlet at Butternut Flats. Here, on both banks of the creek, which at this point are much elevated, seems to have been an established town, with offshoots in various directions, first to the westward on the small brook near the halfway house on the highway to Lake George. Then another northwestward, tucked for comfort up under the protection of French Mountain, where a cold stream comes down from between the two spurs. Here the writer picked up, among various other objects, an arrow head of pure transparent quartz crystal. These sites are identified by the fragments of early pottery which they yield. From Glen Lake eastward the line of these old habitations follows the stream at intervals through to the Washington County line. Tradition refers to a stone-fortified village at Sandford's Ridge, near Halfway Brook, which, if tradition is correct, was evidently occupied by this people, since the frequent remains found in this neighborhood bear the stamp of their workmanship. A half mile to the eastward of this point, and under the high banks to the right of the Kingsbury Road to Sandford's Ridge is a small site yielding large quantities of worked and unworked flints. It would appear that these agriculturists worked the sand plains about the falls of the Hudson, as these are two points within the limits of the city of Glens Falls, which they inhabited; one on the site of the present French Catholic Church, which has yielded large pestles, and another back of the city cemetery, and between it and upper Glen street, producing various flints. That these early inhabitants were frequent visitors at Lake George in quest of game, is evidenced by the location of several of their camps, notably one at the head of the lake and another at Dunham's Bay. We could not rationally expect to find here examples of their farming activities, from the nature of the soil, nor do we. But the pottery is in evidence here, showing that, like their white successors, they appreciated the advantages to life and health,



which lie in frequent more or less protracted fishing and hunting trips. These small sites — there must be many more of them along the shores and among the islands — were their camps.

Returning to our base as Glen Lake, we find traces along the eastern shore; and branching near the head of the lake a line of population followed very nearly by the present railroad line as far south as the neighborhood of De Long's brick yard. Spreading to the east and west, this takes in the famous Blind Rock and Hunter's Brook tracts with the immediately adjoining territory.

Had these people a religion? We cannot answer the query. But that they possessed a superstition we cannot doubt, if we are correct in assigning to them the art which produced the banner stone, bird, and bar amulet, and the perforated slate gorget — as we in our want of better information name those curious and often beautiful objects of polished stone ploughed up in our fields. Being work entirely aside from the idea of utility, and upon which the makers lavished their finest inventiveness and art, we cannot be far wrong, I believe, in attributing to them a superstitious significance. Before closing the survey of this particular people, it will somewhat assist our view to glance beyond the confines of our study of Queensbury, and take note of the ramifications of this population extending around and beyond us. Whither will these lines lead us? Practically everywhere on the northern continent. They were a numerous people, spreading everywhere where life could be maintained. Whether we look to the far west, or to the far south, or to the east, or to the north in North America, the same traces are visible of a universal and homogeneous population. Everywhere they were cultivators of the soil, everywhere they were hunters and fishermen. Allowing for differences of location, and climatic variations, they seem to have followed the same customs, cultivated the same arts, revered the same duties. This was the golden age of the Aborigines of North America, and this age must have been of considerable duration, before the dispersion occurred, the causes of which we shall doubtless never understand.

## THE ESKIMO.

Archæology finds itself from time to time confronted by very obstinate questions, which it burns heart and soul to answer, though the answer is often delayed for a generation or more. Many of these relate to local problems, one of the most interesting of which is the relation of the Eskimo to the region of Canada and the upper half of New York State — about the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence River and the adjacent smaller streams and lakes. The Eskimo of Point Barrow retain in present use a certain kind of blade or knife, of slate, ground and finely polished, in length from three to eight inches, stemmed and usually barbed, sometimes thin and flat, with a narrow bevel to form the cutting edges, often more thick, beveled off from a central longitudinal ridge running the length of the blade. These tools are singular in that no other existing peoples use them, nor from what follows does it seem that any other people ever did use them. Now, in the portion of Canada bordering the Great Lakes, and about the streams and lakes in the upper half of the Empire State, many tools of identical character are found in the soil, associated with other objects such as flint arrow points, chipped quartzite blades, and the peculiar form of chipped flint scraper in archaeology known as the Eskimo scraper, from its identity with like tools in use by the Eskimo of the North at the present time. William M. Beauchamp, whom we esteem the best authority in archaeological matters relating to our State, has furnished an excellent study of these remains; and he seems unhesitating in his belief that at some period quite remote the regions about and to the northward of us were the established home of the tribes now inhabiting the far north, known as the Eskimo. The truth would appear to be, that this was their original home at a remote period, when the climate retained considerably more of arctic severity than is known at present; and that, following the receding cold upon the gradual encroachment of warmer conditions, and the migration of the cold-loving animals upon which they subsisted, they tended gradually northward till they at length found in the utmost north the favorite conditions of their wellbeing. It was my pleasure a few years ago to point out to Mr. Beauchamp the fact that many remains of this people exist about the lakes in

Queensbury, and to the south as far as Saratoga Lake, where we appear to reach the limit of their habitations. Their chief habitat in the Town of Queensbury was about Glen Lake. There, at the northern end, or outlet, was a large permanently established town covering many acres, from which ran lines of habitation, in various directions; first northward under the base of French Mountain for a distance, then striking off to East Lake George, where, as we might expect, there was a large village. Second, a shorter line, comprising three small sites, with its terminus at Lake Sunnyside. Here, on the abrupt hill on the west shore of the lake, was one of their lake dwellings. And it is to this site that I drew the attention of Mr. Beauchamp as yielding a greater number of "slate knives" than any other single site theretofore explored. In my collection from Queensbury, now in the possession of Dr. Albert Vander Veer of Albany, is a card of several specimens of the "polished slate knife," among which is one obtained from the Washburn farm at French Mountain, about a mile from Glen Lake. It is made from Kingsbury banded red-and-gray slate, the red predominating, is of the lance-head form, seven inches in length, by about one inch in mean breadth, has a central longitudinal ridge on each surface, is acutely pointed, with sharp edges. The stem is notched, and there are well-defined barbs. With one exception, this is the finest object of its kind among the one hundred and odd specimens so far reported. That exception is a leaf-shaped blade nine inches in length and three inches across in the center, thin, with a glossy polish, in the collection of Norman Cole of Glens Falls. Saratoga Lake has furnished a few of these knives; and two specimens have been discovered at Marcy, in Oneida County. They are rather more common about Lake Ontario and the neighborhood of Oneida Lake than on the two sites just named. Professor Thompson of Troy obtained one from the Bolton shore of Lake George; and from Lake Champlain, as we might expect, come a few others. A single specimen, the largest, but also the rudest in point of finish yet reported, comes from the Maine lakes. Nor are they alone found in the upper half of the North American continent. Let us take careful note of the fact that John Evans, F. R. S., on page 361 of his classic, "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," says: "In Norway, and



more rarely in Sweden, stemmed and acutely barbed arrows and lance heads, made of hard slate ground on the surface, are occasionally found. Knives of the same material also occur. They much resemble some of those from Greenland." On the other side of us, one has recently been reported from Korea.

It is a matter for some regret that Evans did not state whether or not these Scandinavian implements were taken from the ruins of the Lake Dwellers; for, if they had been found to be relics from the ancient kitchen middens, that would have established the fact of the kinship of the Lake Dwellers of Europe with those of Queensbury. Though I think, from the evidences already in our possession, that there can be no question as to that, for the dagger-blades of flint and quartzite, and certain forms of chisels and celts found on our home sites, are identical in form and workmanship with those of the middens. Viewing the whole field supplying these remains, what have we? A thin line of population running east and west in three continents, along which are scattered remains that clearly indicate a homogeneous race, whose livelihood was secured mainly by fishing, and only incidentally by the chase; and, furthermore, whose habits and utilities identify it with the surviving Eskimo of the far North. In their North American habitat we never find these people removed from large bodies of water. And while as yet we have no evidence that they here built *over* the water, as they did in Europe, at all events they always built *about* the water. I suspect that the difference between the two modes of structure is due to the varying character of the land. Here the shores are high and dry, there they appear to be of a swampy nature. They were the true Lake-Dwellers of our continent.

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#### INTERMEDIATE PERIODS.

What exactly took place here at the close of the period we have been considering we do not know. But, by means of the alphabet of relics, supplied by the superficial soil, we are able to spell out a period of great confusion. The country here seems to have been overrun from about every quarter, judging from the pattern and material, foreign from the locality, of relics scattered so profusely

about our fields. Flint from Ohio and farther west; copper from Michigan; grooved axes and soapstone pottery from the Atlantic tract; opaque quartz, and even obsidian, from the south — all these meet and dispute for the notice of the archaeologist on Queensbury ground. At Assembly Point, on Lake George, is a site yielding beaten copper spear and arrow heads. Again, in my explorations last summer, I recovered a large grooved and polished limestone axe from the often-occupied site in Harrisena; and in line of association, fragments of large steatite, or soapstone pottery have been taken from a site southwest of Glens Falls by a local collector. This signifies the presence in the intermediate period of the New England Algonquins. On the Harrisena site, again are found broad, thin and symmetrical polished limestone celts of quite other origin than the axes. How long the season of confusion lasted, it is impossible to know; but it doubtless included the eastward movement of the Dakotas, or Huron-Iroquois, in the thirteenth century, and the struggles which resulted in their expulsion by the native Algonquins.

It would appear that at the beginning of this period the population of the whole country had so far increased as to compel tribes to break their more or less sedentary habits and go out to conquer enlarged hunting grounds for themselves. Then first the North American Aborigine became a nomad, and imperialism was established.

It will assist our study of the present subject if we state here that the principal sites of habitation in the town, as elsewhere, were occupied during every period we have been considering, for the same reason that the sites of ancient Troy and Jerusalem have seen many successive cities built upon them, one above another, during the ages. The earliest inhabitant in both cases chose wisely his town-site by lake or river or seashore; and human needs being the same in all times, his successors naturally pitched upon the same favored spots for their dwellings. Hence we find a confusion of relics, one layer mingled with another by the plow; and it is the hard task of the student to separate and classify these according to his knowledge of the whole vast field of archaeology and ethnology which is his province.

## THE MOHAWKS.

The territory including Queensbury was in the Algonquins' hands when the Europeans appeared on the scene. Having driven out the Iroquois, they ruled once more undisturbed in their ancient habitat. The Iroquois had gone down by two principal routes to the Mohawk Valley, where they had already, prior to the advent of the Whites, formed their powerful confederacy. One of these routes was by the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. The other was by the Champlain and Lake George trail to the Hudson River, and thence to the mouths of the Mohawk. During my explorations in the summer of 1906, I traced their line of migration from Dunham's Bay southeastward to the County line and on to the Hudson at Sandy Hill. The first stage of this overland exodus is well marked by the remains of a considerable town situated on the flats bordering the inlet at Dunham's Bay. From this point the trail ran southeasterly for some miles (a day's journey for an Indian) to a station on the County line road lying about the sources of Cold Brook. Here the remains of occupancy are spread over many acres, and encroach upon and partly cover a permanent village site of the earliest inhabitants, whose remains have been already described. The relics of these two sites are exactly of the same character as those from Iroquoian stopping-places on their westernmost route by way of the St. Lawrence. They consist of fragments of the well-known clay pottery of the Mohawk tribes; pipes of red pottery; small triangular flint arrow heads; acutely edged celts; a few small flint knives; and lastly, pebbles of black limestone and yellow jasper with likenesses of the human face carved upon them. Some of these are sculptures in relief, as in the case of a beautiful medallion head of a sleeping or dead warrior worked from an oval jasper pebble. I succeeded in gleaning at first hand some twenty specimens from the last-mentioned station, after examining the two considerable collections kept by the owners of the land.

Traces of the Mohawk after his acquaintance with Europeans are also quite abundant in the Queensbury tract. On the site at the Big Bend, already described, in company with Norman Cole, a few years ago, I rescued a fine specimen of the steel "trade axe" with which the traders first armed their red neigh-



bors. It is in a fine state of preservation, due to the sandy matrix which had enclosed it. Mr. Cole picked up a well-preserved metal button on the same occasion. A fine and keen steel arrow and shaft I obtained from a site at the western base of Sugar Loaf Mountain. Objects of copper have been found at the same place. A broken stone pipe drilled with steel tools of the white man comes from Glen Lake. On the Bay Road, on the farm owned by Eber Titus, was a Mohawk camp of late date. In addition to the usual small flint implements supplied by such stations, this field yielded one of the choicest objects of Mohawk manufacture which it has been my fortune to acquire. It is a flat limestone pebble three inches in mean diameter, carved into the form of young buck's antlers, and perforated at one side near the base for purposes of suspension. Both surfaces are delicately carved into ridges, giving a corrugated appearance. It belongs to a class of objects termed personal ornaments. About Lake George and on many of its islands are frequent finds of Mohawk relics made. But the Mohawk never returned to occupy the country as a permanent residence. What we find of him here are but the remains of his temporary hunting or war camps, for he was often attracted this way from his home on the Beautiful River, by the scent of game or scalps; but it was only as an intruder that he came.

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#### LOCAL MATERIAL USED BY ABORIGINES.

In their manufacture of stone implements the Aborigines used such material as was found in their neighborhood. Where supplies of flint were lacking they made use of native quartzite and even sandstone for their smaller weapons, as arrow heads, knives, and spear points, as well as for heavier tools. These native supplies they supplemented with flint in the block obtained by way of trade with neighbors occupying a flint-producing region. In Queensbury we find the occupants of all periods using the local quartzite pebbles freely for large axes, celts, or hand-axes, the larger class of spears and knives, and scrapers; while the local sandstones supplied the place of harder material for certain gouges and adzes. Laminae of fine sandstone served for the

manufacture of finely-wrought knives and lance-heads (Cole's collection). The Eskimo worked the silex, or white flint deposit on French Mountain for material in the manufacture of large knives and spears, and even small arrow heads; while the neighboring slate quarries of Washington County served him in the matter of material for slate knives, ground and unground. And certain ceremonial stones, as the perforated gorget, bird, and bar amulet, and often a banner stone, used by his predecessors, were of the same material. Many chisels and axes were made of the black limestone of the region, which was a favorite on account of the high polish it is capable of receiving. Greenstone and conglomerate pebbles were utilized for celts and banner stones. I found at the foot of Glen Lake a thick celt, or hand axe, of brown hematite, or iron-stone. Hornstone and various flints often occur in limestone deposits; and doubtless the native miner understood the location of material of such value to him, in these eastern tracts. Nevertheless much flint in the rough must have been brought in from the west — Ohio in particular, where it was easily obtained, and in enormous quantities. A cache of unworked flint blocks was found a few years ago by Reuben Ripley on the south end of Long Island in Lake George. There was in the cache upwards of half a bushel of crude material for making weapons. A little west of Glen Lake, some time ago, a cache of finished tools was ploughed up. It contained upwards of one hundred specimens of the leaf-shaped knife. Another large cache was discovered at the "Corners" on Lake Sunnyside. These were small implements, chiefly arrow heads, many of which were of local white flint. The cache — as this kind of deposit is termed — represents the stock-in-trade of the ancient flint-knapper, an important personage in his day and community. While speaking of weapon and tool-making we must not neglect the opportunity to state that without doubt the greater part of the instruments of domestic use among the Aborigines were made of horn, bone, and wood. These all have perished with time on these Queensbury sites, of course. Yet in the Mohawk Valley, bone awls, knives and arrow points often come to light on the later sites.

Also, before quitting this phase of our review, we must pay a tribute of sincere respect to the Aborigine of all periods as an

artist in his field of operations. From about the earliest of Paleolithic times down to the close of the Neolithic, he has displayed a pure and quite surprising artistic taste, coupled with a judgment and a manual dexterity that is one of the wonders of human achievement. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of modern tools, there is no man living to-day who could approach these ancient people in the production of the delicate workmanship in flint-chipping displayed in their arrows, perforators and larger knives. And it is a curious fact that this exquisite art existed in its highest perfection among the Cave Dwellers of the Dordogne in the Madelinian period tens of thousands of years ago. In Queensbury the makers of the cylindrical stone pestle often decorated that useful tool at the upper end with a bold, lifelike figure in relief of a beast's or a serpent's head. Here also they worked small flints into fanciful and symbolic forms, purely by flaking. Of the tools used to produce such astonishing results, nothing remains that we can pronounce upon save the pitted hammer stones, in frequent evidence in our fields, as they are all over the earth. Other fabricators were of more perishable stuff, as antler, bone and horn. Thus we have in a round, briefly sketched-in outline, rather than in an exhaustive treatise, an account of the stone implements of Queensbury, as far as exploration has carried us. It is to be hoped that the explorers and collectors resident in Queensbury may bring forth still other facts bearing upon the subject, for the benefit of science. What a study it is! It is no wonder that the collector becomes an enthusiast almost from the first. Scarcely any pursuit offers such a field for the study of man, in his relation to the world he has inhabited during such vast stretches of time. Behind every implement however rude, which the student handles, there is a man. Whether it be the man of the River Drift period, or the Rock Shelter era in far-off Paleolithic times; or the man of the Lake Dwellings, or the Mohawk wigwam, it is a human being like himself that confronts him when he handles these old weapons. What a wealth of human experience they reveal — human struggle, human aspiration, human achievement. What migrations, what battles, what calamities, what sudden and tremendous changes of climate, of environment are involved in the view we get of this brother man through the medium of his surviving handiwork!



## APPROXIMATE CLASSIFICATION OF IMPLEMENTS.

*Earliest Period.*—Massive spears and knives of flint and sandstone, polished adzes and gouges, large rough chipped axes, chipped sandstone disks, broad flat scrapers. *Sites.*—County Line Road, East Lake George, Glen Lake, West Queensbury.

*Agricultural Period.*—Mortars and pestles, celts, drills, pottery, knives, arrow heads, chisels, ceremonials. *Sites.*—Caldwell, East Lake George, Harrisena, Glen Lake, Big Bend, Dunham's Bay, West Queensbury.

*Eskimo Period.*—Polished slate knives, ground slate knives, flint and quartzite dagger blades, arrow points, scrapers, sandstone gouges, spears. *Sites.*—Outlet of Glen Lake, East French Mountain, Lake Sunnyside, East Lake George, Meadow Run, Bolton.

*Intermediate Period.*—Later pattern celts and chisels, broad barbed arrow heads of flint and hornstone, spears of like pattern, large unground slate knives, grooved axes, steatite pottery, copper implements, obsidian, skeletons. *Sites.*—Assembly Point, Caldwell, Warrensburgh, Chestertown, West Queensbury, outlet Glen Lake, East French Mountain.

*Mohawk Period.*—Small acutely edged celts, small triangular arrow points, small flint knives, steel axes and lances, Mohawk pottery, stone engravings and carvings, fire arms, pipes. *Sites.*—Big Bend, Titus farm, County Line, East French Mountain, Harrisena, Caldwell.

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NOTE OF COLLECTIONS IN QUEENSBURY.

*First.*—The Holden Collection, Academy building, Glens Falls.

*Second.*—The Cole Collection, Glens Falls.

*Third.*—The Pike-Taft Collection, Glens Falls.

*Fourth.*—The Van Heusen Collection, West Mountain.

*Fifth.*—The George Brown Collection, Caldwell.

## POSTSCRIPT.

No account of the Indian antiquities of Queensbury would be complete without a word of tribute to the late Dr. Holden, the pioneer antiquarian of northern New York. His monumental History of Queensbury, especially that portion relating to Queensbury archaeology, has been quoted by authorities everywhere, and contains the archaeological virus which has produced no inconsiderable outbreak of antiquarian zeal in Queensbury. It was he who, years ago, possessed the observation and knowledge to write, respecting ancient remains: "They are everywhere — scattered broadcast over the town." This is the seed sentence which has produced all subsequent investigation.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

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BY JAMES A. ROBERTS.

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It is at the suggestion of the Committee on Program that I have prepared a very brief and cursory review of works relating to American History, which have appeared during the past year. Indeed I have not confined myself strictly to the period since our last annual meeting, but in view of the fact that no such review was presented at that time, I have arbitrarily taken as my starting point January, 1906. I do not claim to have fully covered the publications of the period; doubtless some of interest have escaped me. I have not gone at all into the magazines, even those devoted to history, but have confined myself simply to published volumes. It may be said that the period covering the past eighteen months has been quite prolific in the production of works on American history and biography, and of romances dealing with historical characters and events. The historians have been busy upon the general story of the nation's birth and growth, and upon special phases or incidents of that growth. There seems to have been an effort all along the line to preserve records pertaining to localities rich in historic and romantic associations.

The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 directed especial attention at that time to study of the progress of the nation during the first century of its existence. When the Columbian Exposition at Chicago came along, that occasioned much historical research and writing pertaining to the era of Columbian discovery. A similar remark might be made as to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and the event which it commemorated. This year's exposition, the Jamestown Tercentenary, has occasioned the publication of several historical works relating to what has been termed the birth of the nation, *i. e.*, the settlement of Jamestown, the first permanent settlement by Anglo-Saxons on American soil. The wife of



General Roger A. Pryor has written a volume dealing with events of the period. Another of the books called out by the celebration is "The Story of Bacon's Rebellion," by Mary Newton Stannard, which narrates incidents in the early history of Virginia. Those who visit the exposition tread the ground where Bacon, the popular leader, and Sir William Berkeley, the royal governor, engaged in the first important conflict in this country between the royal power and the people. The Library of Congress has published, with notes, bibliography and index, "The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 1619-1624," and they contain a careful transcript of what has been termed "one of the great manuscripts fundamental to American history." The founders of Virginia figure in them while the English is that of the Elizabethans. The two original volumes were purchased by Colonel Byrd, of Virginia, in 1688, for sixty guineas, and were in the library of Thomas Jefferson. When Jefferson's books were sold the Library of Congress purchased these, and the publication is now made to save the original manuscripts from wear and tear. The library offers the work for sale at \$4.00 per copy. The editing was done by Miss Susan Kingsbury.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Company have brought out in their "Young People's Series," "The Boy's Life of Captain John Smith," by Eleanor Johnston.

Colonial history is further treated in the work, entitled, "Cadwallader Colden, a Representative 18th Century Official," by Alice Maplesden Keys, Ph. D., issued by the Columbia University Press, through the Macmillan Company in 1906. A period of still earlier American history is covered in the volume by Edmond S. Meany, Professor of History in the Washington University and Secretary of the Washington University Historical Society, on "Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound." It contains a portrait of Vancouver and many other interesting illustrations.

The era of French exploration and settlement in the region of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, which had such attractions for Francis Parkman and John Fiske, still fascinates historical students and writers of historical romance. One of the most important of the recent works in this field is that entitled "Voyages of Samuel de Champlain," edited by W. L. Grant. It includes

many extracts from the writings of the great explorer and colonizer, and drawing made by him, which give the work an exceptionally picturesque and quaint character.

The efforts to mark historic spots often prove the occasion for the writing and publication of historic sketches. Lovers of local history in Buffalo and along the Niagara Frontier have formed what is termed the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, and under the auspices of this society tablets and other memorials are being placed in spots where historic scenes have been enacted. Usually the addresses connected with such ceremonies are afterward published and this historic data accumulates. Similar societies elsewhere, and the patriotic societies of national scope, are encouraging the preservation of the ancient landmarks and the history pertaining to them. Works like the series on "Historic Towns," to which President Roosevelt contributed, are most stimulating to such study. A recent work of this kind is the volume by Miss Esther Singleton, entitled "Historic Buildings of America." The author has brought together and made readily accessible to the casual reader many facts that might not elsewhere be obtained, except through considerable research. A new volume in "The Grafton Historical Series," by Charles Burr Todd, is entitled "In Olde Massachusetts." It is devoted to description of the places and customs of the Old Bay State in early days. Pioneer days in the adjoining State of New Hampshire are the subject of a sketch by the Dean of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass., the Rev. Dr. George Hodges. It is called "Holderness; an Account of the Beginnings of a New Hampshire Town." The work forms a study in New England history and local self-government.

Frederick Albion Ober, who has devoted a lifetime to study of Latin America, and whose writings are especially popular with the younger generation, has contributed, within the period under discussion, four volumes to the series published by the Harpers, entitled "Heroes of American History." These volumes are: "Columbus, the Discoverer," "Ferdinand Magellan," "Amerigo Vespucci" and "Pizarro and the Conquest of Peru." His knowledge of these subject has been obtained not only by long study, but by extensive travels in the countries where the scenes of his histories are chiefly laid.

For some years now the appearance of a volume of James Ford Rhodes' History of the United States has been distinctly an event, and the publication of volumes six and seven early this year, completing the work, was doubly an event. Mr. Rhodes has covered, in his history, the period from the introduction into Congress of the compromise measures in 1850 to the restoration of home rule in the South, in 1877. The fact that he has devoted nearly twenty of the best years of his life to the work is evidence of his care and thoroughness. Added to this, Mr. Rhodes brought to his chosen task an unusually clear and felicitous style, and in a marked degree, the historical temperament. The period covered is a great epoch in itself. There is a rapidly diminishing number of us who participated in, or at least distinctly remember, the exciting events preceding the war, the terrible military struggle and the intense bitterness of the reconstruction days, and ordinarily it would be an accepted fact that sufficient time had not yet elapsed to remove the prejudices and animosities which the times so strongly produced, and enable an American to give a correct historical view. It is greatly to Mr. Rhodes' credit that he seems to have held the scales throughout in perfect poise, and to have permitted no bias or partisan feeling to enter his work. It is doubtful if a better history of that period will ever be produced. It is certain that no history of the period will follow which does not rely very largely upon Mr. Rhodes.

Still another work fresh from the press takes up the period from 1885 to 1905, a period almost immediately following that covered in the history by Rhodes. The author is Dr. Harry Thurston Peck, of Columbia, and he calls his work "Twenty Years of the Republic." Dr. Peck stands high as an intelligent and philosophical observer and critic of contemporary movements and events. Still another Columbia professor, Herbert L. Osgood, Ph. D., is the author of "The American Colonies in the 17th Century," the third volume of which was published last April.

October, 1906, witnessed the publication of the sixth volume of John Bach McMaster's History of the "People of the United States." The period covered is from 1830 to 1842. Professor McMaster's work is too well known to admit comment. His history is broader than is ordinarily understood by the term, "history of



the people;" it is a political and economical history as well. He might argue in answer to this suggestion that politicians and those with economical fads and theories are a part of the people, and we should be compelled reluctantly perhaps, to admit the proposition. One is almost appalled in McMaster at the vast amount of digging into musty and forgotten documents, newspaper files, speeches and congressional archives which the completed volume shows. The great lesson can be learned in his pages, never to despair of the republic. You find, vividly set forth, in almost every chapter, some question agitating the public mind, and in popular belief at the time, the safety and perpetuity of our institutions depended upon the proper solution of a question which seems to us so trivial that Carlyle could well have said of it as he did so contemptuously of some tempest in a teapot in England, "What says Bootes to all this?" While Professor McMaster's work does not tend to make us ancestor worshippers, it does make us feel that perhaps some of the questions about which we grow so excited at the present day may seem to our children's children like very small matters. It would be difficult to marshal immense aggregations of facts and theories in more vivid and interesting form than does Professor McMaster in his history.

Another work on the same subject, but of somewhat different scope, by another historical writer of high rank, President Woodrow Wilson of Princeton University, was published between two and three years ago by Harper & Brothers, but they have recently issued a new and popular edition.

The same firm is at present engaged in issuing a notable series of historical studies, entitled "The American Nation in History." Twenty-two volumes in the series have now been published, most of these within the period under present consideration, and four more volumes are to come. The history is intended as a comprehensive work on the birth, growth and general development of the nation and is the outcome of the associated labors of various scholars, under the editorial supervision of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, in consultation with advisory committees from numerous State Historical Societies. Each period has been treated by a trained specialist. The twenty-second volume, which has just come from the press, is entitled "Reconstruction, Political

and Economic," and is by William Archibald Dunning, Ph. D., of Columbia University. It is a thorough and illuminating account of the events of the period following the Civil War and the problems and issues uppermost at the time. Other volumes in this important series are: "The Appeal to Arms" and "Outcome of the Civil War," by J. K. Hosmer; "Causes of the Civil War," by Rear-Admiral F. E. Chadwick; "Parties and Slavery," by Theodore Clarke Smith, of Williams; "Westward Extension," by George P. Garrison, Ph. D., of the University of Texas, and "Slavery and Abolition," by Professor Hart.

A work that is perhaps of more immediate interest to us both as relating to the history of our own State and also as the work of one of our own members, is "A Political History of New York," by the Honorable D. S. Alexander, LL. D. The two volumes already published have received far more than the attention and commendation usually bestowed on a work local in its field. Flattering reviews have appeared in leading papers and magazines from Maine to California. Indeed they are deserved. The style throughout is clear and fascinating and the story at no point lacks living interest. Mr. Alexander has been particularly successful in his delineation of the prominent men who have made or marred the history of our State. In its pages appear no ghostly forms stalking with unnatural tread but real men of flesh and blood, with human ideals, ambition, and passions, keeping step to the music of their times. New York has been so prominent a part of the nation and its politics have so largely affected the whole country that it is not enough to say that Mr. Alexander has made a valuable contribution to the history of our State,—it is equally a highly valuable addition to our national history.

As an Association we can well take pride in another volume, "Stories from Early New York History," by Dr. Sherman Williams, an active and efficient member of this Association, which has appeared during the period covered by this paper. I long ago said that the predominating place which New England held among the Colonies in the struggle for upbuilding and independence was due largely to the presence, particularly in Massachusetts, at all times, of competent and ready chroniclers of passing events, while New York, engaged in laying the foundations of her

commercial supremacy, was less observant of the literary and sentimental side of life. Dr. Williams has done a distinct service for our State pride in showing that for almost every stirring event which has added so much to the interest and vitality of Massachusetts history a parallel can be found in early New York history. The unpretentious little volume is replete with new and interesting facts relating to early New York.

"Our struggle for the Fourteenth Colony," by Justin H. Smith, has just been brought out by G. P. Putnam's Sons, and is a history of our efforts to secure Canada during the American Revolution. The subject is exhaustively and not uninterestingly treated in two volumes.

Among other works of historical character which have come recently from the press may be mentioned the following:

"A Bird's-eye View of American History," by Leon C. Prince, "Heroes of the Navy in America," by Charles Morris, sketches of heroes from Nicholas Biddle, Commander of the first American Frigate, down to Dewey and Hobson, "Strange Stories of 1812," and "Strange Stories of the Civil War," by different authors, "The New Harmony Movement," treating of the establishment of the town in Indiana so named by George Rapp and other German communists in 1815, volume three of "A History of the United States," by Elroy McKendree Avery, "The Autobiography of General O. O. Howard," General Lew Wallace's autobiography, and "Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin," by Rollo Ogden.

One of the most brilliant figures in the history of the Southern Confederacy was Judah P. Benjamin, who occupied successively the positions of Attorney-General, Secretary of War and Secretary of State in the Confederate Cabinet. It is said that Jefferson Davis used to send Mr. Benjamin all work that did not obviously belong to the department of some other Secretary. The life of the noted Jewish lawyer and statesman is a contribution by Pierce Butler to the series of "American Crisis Biographies." Another new biographical work dealing with a figure of the same period is Frederick Brevor Hill's volume on "Lincoln the Lawyer." There are biographies of Lincoln by the score, but while most of them have recounted fully the facts of other portions of the



first martyr President's career, they have generally paid but scant attention to his really important work in the legal profession. Mr. Hill, who is a member of the New York bar, has rendered good service in directing interest toward Mr. Lincoln's achievements as a member of the legal profession.

In the same connection, attention may be called to Ida M. Tarbell's "One Who Knew Lincoln." Miss Tarbell has written the life of the Great Emancipator, which, when it came out some years ago gave her, with her Napoleonic writings, a high rank as an historian. This recent production is intended to throw some sidelights on Lincoln's character by the recital of the story told by one who had unusual opportunities of seeing him at moments when his inmost personality was revealed. Still another volume pertaining to the life of Lincoln is the recently published "Lincoln in the Telegraph Office," by David Homer Bates.

The eminent statesman and financier, John Sherman, is the subject of a newly published biographical work by Representative Theodore E. Burton, himself a distinguished son of Ohio.

General James Harrison Wilson has made many important contributions to American history and biography. His latest is a life of the brilliant journalist and man of letters, the late Charles A. Dana, published by the Harpers. Whatever his faults, Charles A. Dana was certainly one of the remarkable men of his time, and his character presented so many picturesque aspects that his biography, even in less able hands than those of General Wilson, could scarcely fail to be readable.

A series of articles by Herbert N. Casson has been running in a leading magazine and the material has now been published in book form by A. S. Barnes. The work is called "The Romance of Steel; the Story of a Thousand Millionaires." The book suggests the idea that the American history of the near future will deal considerably more with industry and commerce than has been the case in the past. Industrial affairs now occupy so large a place in our national development that their historical consideration is justified more than ever. Hitherto wars and political issues and events have occupied the attention of the historian, oftentimes to the almost total exclusion of matters pertaining to what really concerns more closely the ordinary life of the people in times of peace, namely their business and industrial evolution.

Mr. Casson's book is described as "the first history of our greatest American industry and the only one which describes the whole career of the billion dollar steel trust." In the same field is Ida M. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," which was published in 1904. No historical review would be complete which did not mention works on subjects that have loomed so large in the public eye of late as the Steel and Oil Trusts, so-called.

Fiction writers continue to find material in plenty for their romances in the field of American history. A new romance of this kind is a story by Eugene P. Lyle, Jr., entitled "The Lone Star," dealing with the wresting of Texas from the Napoleon of the West, "His Excellency of the Superlative Degree, Santa Ana, President General in Chief, the Hombre Funesta of Mexico," by a handful of Western farmers. The story has among its characters such pioneer figures as Sam Houston, Jim Bowie, Davy Crockett, and Stephen Austin.

The Indians of the Hudson and St. Lawrence regions have been a favorite subject with romancers from James Fenimore Cooper down. Not so often have the fiction writers undertaken to portray under the guise of romance the customs and history of the Montauks, and other tribes of red men who once inhabited Long Island. This is done in a story entitled "Lords of the Soil," by Lydia A. Jocelyn and Nathan J. Cuffee. The volume arouses interest in the pathetic fate of those red men whose scattered and more or less degenerate descendants may be found in the Hamptons and other parts of Long Island, but whose former occupation of the Island is now chiefly in evidence through the musical names so many places acquired from them, though the multitude long ago ceased to associate them, perhaps, with the red race.

"The Rock of Chickamauga" is a new story by Captain Charles King in which General George H. Thomas is the central figure. One hesitates whether or not to class as "historical" the novels of life in the South in Ku Klux times by Thomas Dixon. His latest is entitled "The Traitor." Booth Tarkington, most of whose stories have an historical flavor, whether dealing specifically with historical characters or not, has written a novel to be brought

out in the Fall by Doubleday, Page & Company, entitled "His Own People," the scenes being laid in Ohio and France. A witchcraft yarn is "Dulcibel, A Tale of Old Salem," by Henry Peterson, illustrated by Howard Pyle. A story is announced for publication this month, entitled "The Code of Victor Jallot," and describing the customs of the Creoles of Louisiana. It is by Edward Childs Carpenter, author of "Captain Courtesy." Vermont is the scene of a story by Theodora Peck, entitled "Hester of the Grants, a Romance of Old Bennington." The author is a daughter of General Theodore S. Peck, a hero of the Civil War and former commander of the Medal of Honor Legion, and her story deals with the "Green Mountain Boys," Ethan Allen, the "New Hampshire Grants" and the Battle of Bennington.

An old friend of mine used to tell about reading history lengthwise and crosswise, *i. e.*, he would take some period and after reading the account in the regular histories, he would read all the biographies, memoirs, dairies, pamphlets and documents of the period. In that way only can one get an accurate knowledge of a time, its hopes, its passions, its manners, its beliefs, its prejudices. It is only within a few years that the United States Government or the Government of any of our States have given attention to the classification of its vast accumulations of documents. The conscience of the custodian seemed satisfied if some dark hole in a basement could be found where they might be dumped. It was to the intelligence and devotion of a mere girl, Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, that a thorough appreciation of the value of this neglected material was aroused. She began her career in the public library of Los Angeles, Cal., and the results of her work were so startling that she was soon called to Washington as document librarian, and at the close of her service in that position the superintendent said of her work, "The library of documents of the United States Government, as long as it shall endure, will remain a monument to the intelligence, zeal, and industry of Adelaide R. Hasse." Dr. Billings, the Director of the New York Public Library, brought her to New York, where, under her guidance, the largest collection of public documents in the world, containing about 150,000 volumes, has been brought systematically together. Under her superintendence, the first



volume of an "Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States" has just been published through the Carnegie Institution of Washington. It is estimated that the "Index" complete will comprise fifty quarto volumes. Its value to the historian of the future will be beyond estimate.

And so in the making of historical books, we can say there seems to be no end. We are no longer open to the charge that we have no chroniclers of our events. The rapid production of such literature is the best possible evidence of an extended and lively interest in historical reading and investigation, for no author or publisher would undertake the production of such works unless there was a body of readers large enough to make them popular and profitable.

## NEW YORK'S OBLIGATIONS TO HER HISTORY.

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AN ADDRESS BY ANDREW S. DRAPER, LL.B., LL.D., COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT BUFFALO, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 17, 1907.

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We are all geniuses or copyists. If we were not we would be mere nothings and that would be simply unthinkable. Genius does great things, but it is rare. Very few of us have even a spark of it. If the fact pains us the bruise is not without its balm. The responsibility of greatness is heavy and the appointments and accompaniments of it are often trying. Geniuses are not always comfortable persons to live with and if we may judge by appearances they do not uniformly have any too good a time of it themselves. Nor is it possible to be entirely confident that one is a genius until after he is dead. Indeed he may be misled himself. An architect may be so deceived that the new buildings within the zone of his influence will be much more original than artistic. An instructor in music in the schools may be so fascinated with his own verse and his own airs that the poor children have to go away from the schools to hear good music at all. There are museums of art which would be more impressive if they would substitute inexpensive copies of masterpieces for their more costly and commonplace originals. There need be no fear of discouraging true genius. It cannot be helped by the commonplace. Only through exacting criticism — indeed only through adversity and struggling, can it come into the possession of its own.

Essentially we are copyists. We do as other people do. In our dress, in our structures, in our food, in our reading and our thinking, even in our ambitions and undertakings we imitate other people. We are very dependent upon our contracts and associa-

tions. Character is hammered out upon the anvil of experience. Iron has one price in the ore, another in the pig, another in steel rails, another in razor blades, and yet another in cambric needles or watch springs. All depends upon the processes and the batterings it goes through. It is the same in the world's ratings of men and women. We absorb more than we initiate and doubtless the influences of which we are unthoughtful are deeper than those of which we are particularly reminded.

Association and imitation are natural, agreeable, logical, successful. Separateness is difficult, practically impossible, simulated rather than real, unprofitable rather than productive. It is well to go into the crowd. No one need be ashamed of copying. It is better to stand for decency in the crowd, and generally we do; to be discriminating in the copying, and ordinarily we are. The common advance which we are bound to recognize proves that at least since the flood the majority has kept company with decency and progress. We show the best we have at the fairs and the expositions; we do the best we can when others are looking on; and we copy the attractive, the enduring, the ennobling. We accept those things which stir the self-consciousness which the Almighty has implanted in us. Genius is the instrument of God in the development of mankind, and conventionality is only the respect which intelligence has to pay to the thinking and the usage of the multitude. Our intuitions rest upon good footings; the sentiment of the crowd is almost unerring. It is certainly so where discussion is unrestrained, where there is responsibility for action, and where there is the possibility of free public opinion. There the worthless things are transitory and the best become the constants. There opportunity stands upon the shoulders of accomplishment and ambition mounts to the very peaks of possibility.

With peoples it is the same as with individuals. Where the conscience of mankind has opportunity and expression, the generations are progressive. There may be progress where there is a cleavage in society; where a monarch or an aristocracy determine the policies of the mass and do it with reasonably sound purposes and ordinarily sane thinking; where the inevitable greed of personal advantage and special privilege is held in check by the possibility of a revolution; but there is a nobler, truer, stronger and



more rapid progress where all the people have the advantage of free discussion and the steady influences of responsibility, where there is inter-dependence between men and women of all conditions, and where all the thinking and all the ambitions and all the conditions of all the people are factors in determining the law and the policies, the opportunities and the ambitions, of the mass.

Where there is progress there is obligation to what has gone before. Things worth having seldom spring fullfledged and unexpectedly into being. The world's progress is predicated upon conscience and discussion and co-operation and ambition and self-denial and sorrow. Every traveler who has added to our information, every scientist who has unlocked a new truth, every artist who has given us a more beautiful expression of form, every ministering angel who has quickened our sense of brotherhood by extending succor to a suffering one, every missionary who has carried the cross into the wilderness, every author who has aroused rational imagination or stirred harmless humor or enlarged logical reasoning, every orator who has quickened ambition, every statesman who has stood for the equality of right and the freedom of opportunity, every soldier who has laid down his life for liberty controlled by law, has placed every one of us under obligations to him.

It is so with each of us and equally so with our generation; it is so with our political society, with that closer union of mankind which is imperative to the moral well being of men and women who live together under free institutions. If each of us owes a debt to ennobling and inspiring example, then our generation rests under enduring obligations to other generations which have cleared the wilderness and subdued the soil; which have in battle decided what manner of institutions the country should have; which have written and interpreted and successfully applied humane and just laws; which have accomplished physical undertakings unexcelled by any people; which have erected all of the instrumentalities of intellectual culture known in any land; and have in not a few particulars gone before any people in any land in reaching toward the great ideal ends for which governments are established among men.

The Society which I have the honor to address needs no reminder that the history of New York is one of surpassing interest. Even if we make allowance for the patriotic fervor which the native children of the State must have in its career and look at it with the unbiased eye of the philosopher or the historian, we must know that it is a fascinating story. We cannot treat much of details to-night but I am sure you will bear with me while I present some phases of the subject which I ought to be able to make of interest to you and which ought to deepen our sense of gratitude to the men and women gone before.

It was fortunate for many reasons that the territory of the State was first settled by Dutchmen. They came with the favor and the aid and not with the opposition of their government. They came from a people who were further advanced in the higher learning, and in the diffusion of elemental knowledge, and in the arts and crafts, and in maritime commerce, and in political freedom, and in institutional development, than any other nation in the world not excepting Britain at that time. All this had not come at first hand from the forces which produced our modern civilization for those forces came into operation with the birth of Christianity and seem to have required a thousand and a half of years for their outworking in the intellectual and political as well as the religious development of Europe, but it did come from the first great and successful religious reformation and it did come as swiftly and directly as ever an arrow sped from a bow from the first dreadful and decisive war for religious and political freedom that the world had ever seen.

It is true that the Dutch came hither for trade and commerce; it is also true that the motive was a worthy one. It was the natural expanding of a people with newly won freedom. It was the beginning of what we have seen in such abundant measure since. And whatever the motive, they brought their home feelings and outlook and institutions with them. They made no attempt at a theocracy or an aristocracy. For fifty years while their little town grew slowly at the mouth of the Hudson and small hamlets were planted upon either side of the river to the north they quietly and modestly but firmly and decisively set up schools and churches and courts and all the institutions of our modern society.

They exercised freedom while they observed its limitations and obligations. Of course they introduced the forms and usages of the Netherlands as they gathered the fruits of their frugality and the energy of their trade.

Even for a hundred years after they were unjustly overthrown by the accumulating power and ambitious designs of the English arms they struggled with their adversaries for the free schools and the free worship which their fathers had established by their valor in the Low Countries. Nor did they struggle in vain. Dutch and English were merged in the fires of the Revolution, but in the process of assimilation quite as much that was Dutch as English survived. Much in the way of craftsmanship, and diversified agriculture, and domestic thrift, and land tenures, and scientific investigation, and even of the fine arts, and religious toleration, and of political equality, and of co-operative effectiveness endures to this day.

The outcome of the Revolution put a new face upon the affairs of New York more decisively and quickly than upon those of any other State. The men and women of New England then and not till then began the unending migration to the westward. The Englishmen who came over the Berkshires had developed, for obvious reasons, into a different sort of Englishman from those who had been coming through the Narrows. And it might be observed that those who came through the Narrows after the Revolution must have come with a different outlook and may have spoken in a milder tone than those who came before. Be that as it may, there was not much in common between New York and New England before the Revolution. New England at the close of the eighteenth century was not so very different from old England at the opening of the seventeenth. It was in a state of quiescent and serene religious intolerance which New York had never known. It was a condition which continued there to a later time than anywhere else in the country. New England puritanism was a noble cult; certainly it was the embodiment of sincerity, of principle, and of character. Quite as certainly it was the embodiment of self-content and of tenacity. But when it came to close quarters with another people of quite as much character, quite as much poise and quite as much tenacity, the hour had come when a new



measure of mutual respect and a new measure of toleration could be the only issue of the contact. And this it was which caused the pledge of absolute religious freedom, of the complete disassociation of worship and of political administration, to be enshrined in the written constitution of New York before it found a place in that of any other State of the Union. It must have been the want of it which caused Massachusetts to be the very last of the original States to put that pledge in her constitution.

When the foundations had been laid the greatness of the Empire State became possible. It had already commenced. But what a labor in the beginning! Those were the days of farms, not of towns and cities. Think of the task of the pioneer farmers among the hills and rocks and unbroken forests between the Hudson and the Montezuma marshes. The western men are accustomed to say that if the early settlers had known of the black, rich land upon the prairies, New England and New York would never have been settled at all. Be that as it may they were settled and well settled. Clearings were made and houses built and pastures were made ample and herds were grown. Meadows appeared and great highways were opened. Churches were established in every town; often where there was no town. A school was set up at every crossing of the roads. Sons and daughters in liberal numbers were grown also. All worked with their hands in the house or upon the land. The overwhelming number worked with their heads also. There was no rich or idle class. There was no tenant farming. There was a distinctly new order of rural society, and there was abundant result. All that was needed was produced on the place. Fresh beef was a little scarce, but lambs and chickens were always at hand. The smokehouse was never empty and the cellar always full. The cooking would honor a palace. Hospitality was as warm as the sunshine and as free as the air. There was much going to and fro between the busy seasons, and good fellowship and much public enterprise prevailed. There was no meanness under the guise of politeness and no subtle maneuvering to satisfy greed at the cost of another, or if there was it was punished harshly; there was much blunt and sincere and earnest and productive living. The result was a noble State, the first agricultural State in the Union. We lift our hats to the men and women who made it

so and we would to God that some turn in the wheel of economics, without taking away what has followed, might bring it all back again.

Of the foundations and the growth of our material prosperity it is necessary to say but little. We have doubtless had some advantage from situation but it has not been an exclusive advantage. There are other great harbors than ours upon the Atlantic coast and other peoples might have built great waterways to the westward. The foresight and courage which put \$9,000,000 into the original building and \$25,000,000 into the enlargement of the canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson long years ago were possible because of the leadership which the State had already gained in trade and commerce. That leadership related back to the energy and the honor of New York merchants in the Colonial days. For full forty years the Erie Canal was building before a shovel full of earth was turned. It was discussed by statesmen and planned by engineers for all that time. More than once the other States had the opportunity to share in the expense, in the advantage, and in the glory, and, happily for us, refused. It took a stouter courage to do it than it requires to spend a hundred millions in constructing a ship or barge canal and a hundred and fifty millions in improving the highways now. It made easily possible our great cities and great railways, great buildings, and great bridges, and marvelous tunnels, and all the other evidences of good government, of material prosperity, and of engineering skill. When we are prone to boast that our leadership in banking and manufactures and commerce has never been in hazard and seems more secure now than ever, it is well to remember that it did not come in a day or a generation and that it might not have come at all but for the foundations which were laid by heroic generations of New York men and women who are gone.

Our educational system is unique, not so much because of what we have done as of what our fathers did. The American educational plan is unique; but the New York educational scheme is unique in the American plan. The Dutch influences have been very considerable and they persist to this day. Our State gives more support to and exercises, when necessary, more control over schools than any other state. The schools are more closely bound

together in a state system. There is more done to assure a fair schoolhouse and a suitable school in places where the people are poor or indifferent. Special aid is given to the advanced schools as nowhere else. All kinds and grades of schools are encouraged and very considerable progress has been made in binding them together in oneness of system. All manner of instructional instrumentalities outside of the schools are looked after and so far as practicable made parts of the State educational system. The State has established the standards for admission to the professions upon a plane which is almost prohibitive of professional reciprocity with other states. Our laws and our practices prevent fakes and punish frauds much more drastically than those of our neighbors do. Now and then someone protests against centralized authority. Protests may be healthy in administration. They often serve to keep us in the middle of the road. Surely our policy should not go to the length of supporting schools where they need no aid, nor of using the schools to promote special interests, nor of limiting freedom of teaching, nor of hampering any community in freely managing the business interests of the schools where the management is not a travesty upon sense and a fraud upon rights which are inviolable, nor of doing anything else which is not good for all of the people and all of the moral and intellectual interests of the commonwealth. The fundamental thought of the New York educational system is that the intellectual interests of every child of the State is the common interest of every citizen of the State and of every dollar of valuation in the enormous property of the State. The strong and the rich must help the weak and the poor. It is this that makes the cities raise millions every year beyond what they need for their own schools to aid the schools outside of the cities, as is done in few other states, and in no other state in anything like equal measure. It is this which goes as far as a state can go in equalizing educational opportunity to all. If it discourages novelties in psychology, and freakishness in pedagogy, and graft in administration, it impedes neither the sane thinking nor the rational undertakings of anyone. And in any event, no one who is now living is responsible for it. If one will quarrel with it he must quarrel with men who are dead. It is the distinct and long time policy of the State. It has developed out of our history. It has de-



veloped because of universal state pride and generosity and courage in all that concerns New York, because it was believed to be necessary and has been found to be good, and because the practically universal sentiment believes in it and supports it overwhelmingly. It was commenced as soon as the State could gather up its thoughts and bring together some scattered resources after the practical annihilation they had suffered through the central position which it had held in the War for Independence. It was because the statesmen of New York raised and distributed half a million to aid the schools in the closing years of the eighteenth century upon a plan that was exclusively their own that the state tax levy can carry six or seven millions for education in each of the opening years of the twentieth century and no one dissent in any quarter. It was because of the foundations which our fathers laid; because the principle that intellectual evolution is not a matter of local but rather one of universal concern was made the corner stone of that foundation; that the common sentiment and the accumulating wealth of the people of New York leads them to put \$70,000,000 each year to the uses of education and open wide the door of opportunity to all within our borders.

The strong and steady unfolding of the professional life of New York is a story which, in any comprehensive or philosophical form, is yet to be written. The family doctor was not a quack; the lawyer was not a pettifogger. Quacks and pettifoggers were even more quickly distinguished and bluntly described in the early days than now. And in the early days there were boys who were glad to wear clothes smuttled with honest toil and happy in working with their hands. Few of them aspired to the professions; and the one fundamental principle that everyone must have his equal chance had not been worked out in our system of education then as now. We are at the very front in requiring that the candidate must have at least four years of work of academic grade, four years of work in an approved professional school, the bachelor's degree from an approved institution authorized to confer it, and a certificate earned in the State examinations, before he can practice his profession; but it may well be doubted whether professional capacity is as much regarded by the people of the State as it was half a century ago. Be that as it may, certain it

is that the strong men in the professions were relatively more influential in primitive conditions than now. Medical integrity and experience counted for more when medical knowledge was in its infancy; legal learning was more potent when our unique and independent judicial system was in its experimental stages, and principles rather than precedents were necessarily the guides; and the minister, with his hard and fast theology, impressed minds more deeply when he was pretty nearly the exclusive intellectual force in the every day life of people whose labor was mainly with their hands. And the legal, medical and clerical professions have from the beginning laid New York under heavy obligations to them. Indeed those professions have been so distinguished and the obligations to them are so great that a mere passing reference to them seems altogether lacking in the bare justice which is their due.

Something more than the merest incidental reference to the bearing of the clergy upon the intellectual life of our fathers should be said concerning the religious history of the State. It has already been pointed out that toleration made exceptionally early progress here because of the mixing of two very different and very forcèful civilizations. Toleration of religious differences nourishes and propagates pure religion quite as much as it makes for intellectual progress. It brings more respect for reason than for authority, and any religion that is potential must spring from feeling, guided by reason rather than directed by power. Men and women are naturally religious; they respond to control and direction only from the necessities of the situation, and religion is satisfying and potential only where the external expression of it is free and respected. This grows as intelligence advances. Religious freedom and intellectual freedom have aided each other in all ages the world over. A religious machine with political and military power behind it hinders both moral and mental progress. It looks as though all the world is about to realize it. New York realized it very early and very clearly. Resenting the power of a church in the affairs of the State, assuming universal education as a public charge and assuring it through the definite support and control of the State, New York, almost from the beginning, was conspicuously helpful to the freedom and the

rationality of religious life. It very early forced decisive changes in mere theology and a material decline in mere ecclesiasticism. It did not lessen the spirituality of it. Indeed it widened the application of it. It began to take out of it the absurdities which the most devout found it very difficult to explain or overlook. It took the pugnacities as well as the absurdities out of it. It attracted human nature no matter what language it spoke or whether it prayed standing, sitting, kneeling, or with no required posturing, or indeed though it had no form of prayer beyond the breathing of one's feelings to himself. It made for universal brotherhood, for mutual respect, for the common policies by which all could live, for freedom within the State, but for a stronger State to suppress license and excess, and therefore for neighborliness, for co-operation in the industries and in education and in all the things which make the commonwealth great. It would of course be too much to say that this was exclusive with New York, but it is none too much to say that it was unprecedented in New York, that it was the potential cause of the State's early and strong development, in people, and in property, and in usefulness, and that we would be thoroughly unjust to the men and women gone before us and who made it so if we failed to recognize the fact.

Even in such a cursory exploitation of my theme mention must be made of the scientific work which our State has done, not through its colleges but by its own officials for at least two full generations. In all of the sciences related to economic interests we have carried research farther by our own agents than any other State has thought of. The indefatigable industry and belligerent disposition of James Hall, for almost sixty years State Geologist, caused the territory of the State to be more completely investigated and charted, geologically, than any other like extent of territory in the world. He loved his science with the enthusiasm of a girl and fought for it with the ferocity of a lion. More than twenty-five years ago I was a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the Assembly when Dr. Hall came to appeal for another appropriation to *finish* his paleontology. He had given assurances about completing it many times in order to smooth the road for appropriations and the Committee had be-



come somewhat enlightened and skeptical. They prodded him with the demand that he should fix the limits of time and money necessary to complete the work. "Do you expect science to be bound by laws and contracts?" he demanded. "Yes, and this paleontology business must be settled in this bill or there will be no appropriation" they answered. The old man raised his eyes to Heaven, in disgust more than in prayer, and he brought his clinched fist down upon the table with a bang as he said "My God! that science ever had to wait on the maneuvers of a *legislative committee*." It is superfluous to remark that he got his appropriation. He printed much and he had much trouble with unscientific printers. I once heard him say to the State Printer "Mr. Van Benthuyzen, you tear my theology all to pieces." "How's that?" asked the head of the great printing house. "I don't believe in a hell" he answered, "but there ought to be one to which *printers* could be sent." Be that as it may, I doubt not that if you would ask any scientific man in Europe who had not traveled in America what he thought about the States, he would first express his appreciation of the geological and other scientific publications of the State of New York.

And the aid which the State has given to natural science through publication it has also given to history. With a freedom bordering upon prodigality it has printed everything that could be expected from its commanding position or be informing to its people. Perhaps it has not always been discriminating. Very likely the profits of the printers have aided the wisdom of the legislatures and lent energy to the revolutions of the press, but there is another side to it. They have stimulated scholarship and research and authorship, and all together they have saved much from permanent loss, provided us with an inexhaustible mine of material, and encouraged investigation and authorship for all time to come. More than once this State has sent its agents abroad to rescue scraps of its Colonial History from utter loss, many times it has initiated steps for reclaiming important happenings from obscurity or misinterpretation, and always it has shown a quick interest in all that could aid the intellectual virility and balance of its people. And what the State has done the men and women of the State have done. What the State has done, its

Board of Regents, its colleges and academies and professional schools, its editors and merchants and engineers and historians and governors and legislators, have done to break out its roads and follow them to surprising consummations.

This brings us to a word about our political evolution — not the story of party contests, but the steady unfolding of political institutions, assuring equality of great opportunity, and bringing forth surprising issues, through the making of laws and the exercise of the powers of government by many millions of widely different people.

Since the first Constitution, made in 1777, we have radically reformed the fundamental instrument of the State government three times, namely, in 1821, 1846 and 1894. In 1867 a constitutional convention prepared a new instrument which was, except as to the judiciary article, rejected by the people. We have adopted sixty-six amendments to the Constitution in twenty different years. It must be observed that we have exhibited confidence as well as exercised freedom, concerning what is justly held to be a very sacred instrument, in meeting new situations. The statutes enacted by the Legislature would, with pardonable exaggeration, make a pile as high as Mount Marcy. The judicial construction, interpretation, adjustment, and annulment, of many of these written laws have occupied the industrious attention of a long and learned bench from the beginning.

There are those who are prone to criticise the freedom and the volume of our law making. I have but little sympathy with them. Of course, many things are done inconsiderately and inconsistently. There is little harm except to create the greater need for multiplying judges, and the judges at least will admit that that is not without its compensations.

Under our free and unique system for annulling laws which are in conflict with the Constitution there is no danger. The overwhelming advantage is in the open channels it makes for the free flow of our democracy and the quick opportunity which it provides for meeting new situations in authoritative ways. Our much legislation has often helped us at what seemed the breaking point. It has been the vehicle of our rapid progress. One State has copied from another and thus it often happens that many States

have had the natural advance of twenty years in one. The judiciary of New York, with exceptions so rare as not to be in the reckoning, has always been independent, patriotic, and learned. The law reports of New York are held in unfeigned respect in all parts of the world. The system is unique in nation building; but it is balanced, logical, safe. It was vital to a rapidly growing nation of free and widely different people like ours. It adjusts itself to the multiplying millions, it stops a runaway before the brink is reached, and it gives opportunity to the material, intellectual, and moral progress which all good Americans want. And how the forming of it, and the administration of it, trains the ambition, and the freedom, and the knowledge, and the self restraint, and the sense of responsibility of honest people! How it develops very ordinary men into very efficient leaders! How it opens the possibilities to each and keeps the whole mass moving on!

And the product has been as satisfactory as the method has been logical and free. Here we are 8,000,000 of people in a highly organized political society. Since the days when the Dutch and the English liberalized the thinking and added to the strength, the security and the opportunity of each by assimilation, we have received a copious stream of immigration from nearly every people under the sun. History has again and again repeated itself. Apprehension has uniformly given place to new confidence, greater strength, larger undertakings. Security and opportunity have not grown less but greater. The new factors have made the fundamental principles of our democratic philosophy more imperative. The statutes and the decisions have more and more reflected the new situations. The making of the law has had to contend with problems that were so new and so hard that it has been halted for the moment and blundered now and then, but the clarity and the force and the balance which public opinion gains through its operation in the presence of danger has been uniformly triumphant. In spite of the forebodings of the conservatives and the predictions of the pessimists, whom we have always had with us and who are doubtless very necessary wheels in our political machinery, we have come very near proving the practicability of pure democracy through the rational exercise of our political powers.



I shall use but one further illustration to enforce the lesson of my theme. It is an important one — the story of military accomplishment in the Empire State. I can no more than allude to it. All the leading nations are now in conference at the Hague for the purpose of promoting international comity by agreement, by arbitration, and by establishing constitutionalism between as well as within the political organizations of the peoples of the world. The outworking of Christianity, which has not only enlarged but has diffused learning, and the obvious advantage of common obedience to just law over the mere submission to physical force, are overcoming the brutal disposition to engage in war. But wars have been imperative if freedom was to triumph over power, and right was to compel ignorance and greed to open the door to opportunity. And happy indeed may that people be who have reason enough to know that their religious and educational and institutional heritage did not come through aggressive warfare for the sake of empire or unlawful gain, but did come through the fact that their fathers knew what their natural rights were and had the valor with which to gain them.

There is hardly a county in New York which has not been the scene of heroic struggles. There is scarcely a town without heroic incident and tradition. Everywhere there are houses bearing the marks of conflict and here and there are the earth works and other remains of heavy battles which decided much in the history of America. Once in a while a monument or a tablet proves that a few people have memory and appreciation, but the greater part are too often ignorant or indifferent about the events which make grounds sacred.

When civilization took up its march across this country from east to west it everywhere found in the Indians subtle and dangerous foes. The struggle which in its deadly form began with King Philip in New England in the seventeenth century has led trails of blood all the way to the Golden Gate and continued quite to our day. Nowhere was it so bitter as in New York, for the Iroquois were the royalists of Indian life. It is idle to doubt or debate the moral rights of the matter now. A great land must inevitably go to the people who will put it to its best uses. Legal or moral title to the earth's surface must rest upon something

more than savage uses. White civilization might well have paid some other price than the one it did to extinguish any rights in the soil which roving wild men had in it. It was certainly so where the foe to its progress was so subtle in diplomacy and so savage in war as the Five Nations. The tribute they exacted was the blood of the settlers without discrimination. They terrorized every cabin and filled the land with horror; but they made warriors and strategists and statesmen of pioneer farmers.

Until close to the hour of the Revolution the northern border of New York was the mainly inhabited frontier of English civilization in America. Our territory was the base of military operations and so far as we had men to serve they were in the forefront of the battalions which determined by their valor that the predominant power and the enduring civilization in America, with all that that fact implies, was to be English rather than French. Indeed the most of the hardest fighting was upon our soil. The names of Niagara and Frontenac should signify something very different from what they do; there should be something very unlike a summer hotel where Fort William Henry stood; and the neglected and crumbling ruins at Ticonderoga — the key to the strategic situation and scene of historic events in two wars for English freedom in America, might well be cherished and protected by the State, for they are the noblest monuments we have or can have of the times which both tried men's souls and made men great.

The conditions which made New York fighting ground in the French and Indian wars made it even more so after Canada had passed over to the English crown and the war for American independence was on. In the beginning Britain was organized and in possession and if she could hold this territory she would cut the embryonic republic in twain and triumph in the end. By intrigue, gifts, and abhorrent promises the Indians had been brought into sympathy and service with the Crown. The white settlements were far apart. The skulking foes that infested the woods on every side were quite as dangerous as the British regulars who lived in camps and moved in brigades. While our only seaport was held by the invading army from the beginning to the end of the struggle, the yeomen of the interior cleared their terri-

tory of British regular troops and largely of savages also before, in point of time, the bitter conflict was half way over. Of course, they did not do it all alone but they certainly did a good part of it alone and they at all times held the right of the line that did do it. The grades and the waterways from the mouth to the headwaters of the Hudson and then from the head of Lake George to the outlet of Champlain may be said in all truth to have been the veritable warpath of the Revolution. Nature made it so. The highest point in the whole distance is less than a hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea. Considerably more than half of the 350 miles was navigable by the largest vessels and all of it but twenty miles could be traversed by smaller craft. It was well known for it had been the trail of the savages, "the dark and bloody ground" for centuries. Practically the same was true of the beautiful valley from the mouth to the source of the Mohawk. The only place where the Atlantic watershed breaks through the Appalachian mountains is at Little Falls. The route is practically level and has an even shorter "carry" between the head waters of the Mohawk and Wood Creek leading into Oneida Lake and so into Lake Ontario than that upon the other trail. The highest altitude is only 400 feet and small craft may be floated practically all the way from Ontario to the Atlantic.

When it was evident that neither the New England Coast nor the mouth of the Hudson could be held by the Americans the eyes of both combatants turned to these natural thoroughfares between our great harbor, which was the comfortable rendezvous of the British navy, and Canada the hospitable base and stronghold of the British army. Something more than eyes were turned. The first substantial feat of American arms was in the capture of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The first American navy was upon Lake Champlain. The most comprehensive and strategic campaign of the British forces in the entire war embraced the advance of one army up the Hudson, of another from Canada up Lake Champlain and Lake George, and of a third through Lake Ontario and down the Mohawk. With bombast and bluster and tripping step they were to occupy these thoroughfares, make a junction at Albany and grasp the key to the situation. The western army was annihilated at Oriskany by the sturdy yeomen



in the valley after they had lost a larger percentage of dead and wounded than was suffered by American troops in any other engagement in the war. The northern army under the proudest general of the crown, haughtily boasting that "Britons never retreat" marched directly to decisive defeat and humiliating surrender at Saratoga. With the news of Oriskany and Saratoga the southern army turned about and imitated the straight and limpid course of the Hudson to the sea. And when all this was followed by Sullivan's conclusive punishment of the Iroquois and their allies in the Wyoming valley, the rest was largely a matter of endurance until the King should tire of the waiting and the expense, or the cabinet should give way to another which would stand again for the fundamentals of English liberty.

We must lay no claim to what is not justly ours. But we owe it to our fathers and to our children to prevent literary fiction and much repetition from perverting a true understanding of historic facts. The first blood of the Revolution was spilled in New York and not in Boston. Every home in our sparsely settled State was in deadly danger from the capture of Ticonderoga till the annihilation of the Indians from the Hudson River to the Genesee country. What memories the names of Schenectady, Unadilla, Cobleskill, Schoharie, Cherry Valley, Springfield, Canajoharie, German Flats, Minisink and many others may well revive! Oriskany in severity, in casualties, and in results was a heavier battle than Bunker Hill, and Saratoga was the decisive engagement of the war. Of course, all that was done in New York was not done by New York men, but with main reliance upon volunteer soldiers the men of a State were necessarily at the forefront of any warfare within their borders. At Oriskany the militia of Central New York without other aid put British regulars, Tories and Indians to the sword. It was there that the Stars and Stripes was first pushed to the front against an enemy. Forced by their situation to bear the leading part in the Revolution, the men of New York, as Wayne wrote to Washington of the men who captured Stony Point, "behaved like men determined to be free."

There is no need to speak of the course of this State in the second war with Great Britain, in the unnecessary and unjust war with Mexico, in the awful struggle to save the Union from

overthrow by the slave power, or in the expulsion of Spain and the protection of Cuba. We have never sought quarrels. We have had interests which quickened the wish of rational men and women to live at peace with our neighbors and all the world. But the State of New York never knowingly turned from a duty. Whenever she has deemed it necessary to exercise force she has done it with a spirit and a completeness which emphasize another phase of the debt which all of her children owe her.

There is much more to be said, but little more can be said to-night. No one knows better than the members of the State Historical Society, of whom I am happy in being one, how very fragmentary has been my treatment of a great theme. Your knowledge of the breadth and depth of the subject and of the limitations which the need of brevity imposes upon a speaker will make you considerate of the inadequacy of the presentation. Possibly the brief form, which may easily be placed before many people, may signify to increased numbers something of our neglect of our history and somewhat of our duty to the men and women who have made it.

Our fathers were not much given to leaving records for their children. Those children have been frequently unmindful, often indifferent, sometimes inaccurate. We have uniformly been engrossed with innumerable activities and the very volume of our history makes it difficult to popularize it. Many have come among us in later years who are valiantly helping us to make more history, who cannot easily appreciate our early history, for they are a part of the story of another people struggling for the democracy which has come to be more stable here than in any other land under the sun. The writers of American history have for the most part lived in other States and they have written under the spell which other associations impose upon them. We have not been much aided by song and story; at times we have been injured by literary humor which other people seem unable to grasp. The children in the schools, often the students in the colleges and universities, more often still the men and women of our busy cities and towns know but little of the splendid story and appreciate all too lightly the obligations which it imposes.

If we could mend this, if we could stir popular enthusiasm, if we could quicken investigation by scholars and present the results in more popular form, if we could effectuate a deeper and more general appreciation of the fundamental causes of the primacy and the power of the State, we would at one and the same time give justice to the past and invaluable service to the future. The government of the State will give any proper aid which the thoughtfulness of this Society, the work of scholars, or the patriotism of the people will seriously suggest.

But, after all, the writing of history is not the only way of expressing our obligations to the makers of it. Here we are, eight millions of every kind of people that the sun ever shone upon, proving the stability and the potentiality of a pure democracy. We are not in peril; we confide absolutely in our security. Discussion is freer, sentiment makes more rapidly, and conclusions are surer and sounder than ever before. We can do anything we think well to do. The commercial primacy of the State seems sure enough, but endless measures are in progress to make it doubly sure. The national centers of the publishing business, of finance, and of manufactures are within our borders. The problem of absolute democracy in religion has been worked out to a complete solution. So the great problem of democracy in education is well advanced and the solution is inevitable. We are just now in the midst of the complete applications of the fundamental principles of our democracy to our industries. We are beginning to make and enforce laws which will promote all the just interests of both capital and labor and limit the improper exercise of the organized power of each. Our children will wonder that we had so much trouble making it clear that the common power can only be used in the common interest, and that in our business as well as in our religion, our education, and our politics, every child of the nation is to have his free and equal chance. If we make it completely so, as seems likely enough, we shall show to all the world that democracy opens opportunity to moral and material progress and we shall discharge a part of the obligation which our generation of freemen owes to the generations of freemen who have gone before.



## COLONEL GEORGE G. BENEDICT, A.M., L.H.D.

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By J. E. GOODRICH, D. D.

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It is the tradition that the Benedict family is of Latin origin, and that their ancestor came to England from the south of France by way of Germany and Holland upon occasion of some persecution of the Huguenots.

The first to bear the name in America was Thomas Benedict, who at the age of twenty-one came from Nottinghamshire, England, to Massachusetts Bay in 1638; resided for many years at Southold (or Huntington) on Long Island, where five sons and four daughters were born to him; but removed as early as 1665 to Norwalk in Connecticut, where his fellow townsmen recognized his sagacity and executive ability by making him town clerk, selectman, and twice their representative in the General Assembly. He was also deacon of the Norwalk church, an office in which his descendants worthily followed his example; for a grandson says: "At this day (1755) seven of the family use that office." The father of our subject also honored the ancestral custom, and "purchased a good degree" by accepting the same post.

Seventh in descent from this Thomas Benedict, and by his mother, Eliza Dewey (of Sheffield, Mass., sister of Professor Chester Dewey, of Williams College), tracing his descent from Thomas Dewey (of Sandwich, Kent, England) who came to Massachusetts Bay in 1632, George Grenville Benedict was born in Burlington, Vt., December 10, 1826 — the second of the six sons of Professor George Wyllys Benedict of the University of Vermont. His father was a soldier in the War of 1812. His grandfather, the Reverend Abner Benedict, of Middletown, Conn., was chaplain of a Connecticut regiment in the War of the Revolution. His grandfather, Stephen Dewey, of Westfield, Mass., was captain of a company in Colonel E. Williams' regiment of

Massachusetts (Colonial) Infantry in the French and Indian War, and was subsequently a soldier in the Continental Army in the Revolutionary War.

Mr. Benedict got his preparation for college at the Burlington academy, was graduated from the University of Vermont in 1847 and received his second degree in course in 1850. For a year after graduation he taught in Washington Institute in New York City. During the three years next following he was engaged with his father in constructing the lines of the Vermont and Boston Telegraph Company, extending from Boston through Concord, N. H., and Montpelier, Vt., to Burlington, and thence to Rouses Point, Ogdensburg and Montreal, as also from White River Junction to St. Johnsbury. This work was vigorously prosecuted and with such knowledge and thoroughness as to receive hearty commendation from the inspectors of the company when completed. In 1860 he was elected president of this company and held the office for two years.

In 1853 he and his father became joint owners and editors of the Burlington Daily and Weekly Free Press. Under their direction the paper took on a more serious tone and discussed moral and political questions with such vigor and decision as to leave no uncertainty respecting the convictions of its proprietors. The sheet soon gained and thereafter held a foremost rank among the periodicals of the State.

In August, 1862, the junior editor found himself compelled, as were thousands of other young men, to heed the insistent call of the Fatherland, and enlisted as a private in Company C, Twelfth Regiment, Vermont Volunteers — a nine months regiment — and went to the front. He was present at the repulse of Stuart's raid at Fairfax Court House, Va., December 28, 1862, and was promoted, January 23, 1863, to be second lieutenant and aide-de-camp on the staff of General George J. Stannard, commanding the Second Vermont Brigade. This brigade, which for months had been assigned to picket duty, was destined, before coming home for its discharge, to participate in the greatest battle of the war. So it came about that Lieutenant Benedict had the good fortune to share in the terrible struggle and the decisive victory of Gettysburg.

The duties and dangers of his position on General Stannard's staff were met in such soldierly fashion that Congress awarded him the Medal of Honor bestowed for conspicuous courage in action. He was the first man of his brigade to reach the field, having been sent forward during the fighting of the first day to announce to the Division Commander the coming of the brigade; on the second day he assisted in establishing the Union line to the left of Cemetery Hill after the repulse of the Third Corps; on the third day when the left of the Union line was for a moment staggered by the enemy's fire, he rallied the men who had faltered, and encouraged them to open the disastrous fire at close range on Pickett's flank which contributed so greatly to the repulse of the Confederate assault. He also aided in dispersing Wilcox's Confederate brigade,—a movement which closed the active operations of the battle,—and afterward posted the picket line in front of the Second Vermont (his own) brigade. His personal share in this action enabled him to give a vivid and accurate picture of the heroic part played by the Vermont troops on the memorable third day of the fight. This account was presented as an address before the Vermont Historical Society in January, 1864, and was published in 1867 and again in 1870, under the title, *Vermont at Gettysburg*.

In 1879 he received from Governor Redfield Proctor the appointment of State Military Historian, and in 1886 brought out the first volume of his *Vermont in the Civil War*, the second volume following in 1888. This was no hasty compilation, but employed most of his time and thought from the date of his appointment. The labor incurred in verifying the "facts" reported and in extracting the truth from masses of conflicting testimony is but rarely suggested to the reader. The author's historical conscience would not allow him to accept an unsupported statement without challenge. This passion for accuracy in details necessitated a wide correspondence and tedious investigations. His work has been called the most readable of all the State histories of the War, and this is no slight encomium. During his whole service he had kept in regular communication with his paper, and these Letters from the Field were finally sent out in book form under the title, *Army Life in Virginia* (1898).



In 1866 Lieutenant Benedict was made Assistant Inspector General of Vermont with the rank of Major. The next year he was appointed Colonel and aide-de-camp on the staff of Governor Paul Dillingham. Twice he represented his county in the State Senate, 1869-70-71, where he had place on the Committees on Education and Military Affairs. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1880. He was twice appointed Postmaster of Burlington, and held the office of Collector of Customs for the District of Vermont under President Harrison, 1889-93. He was President of the Vermont Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, a charter member and Governor of the Vermont Society of Colonial Wars, Corresponding Secretary for many years of the Vermont Historical Society and its President from 1890; he was President of the Vermont Press Association, 1886-89, a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, Past Commander of the Vermont Commandery of the Loyal Legion, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Medal of Honor Legion of the United States. He belonged to the American Antiquarian Society, was School Commissioner of his city, director in the National Life Insurance Company of Montpelier, a corporator of the Burlington Savings Bank, and one of the trustees of the New York State Historical Association, etc. Of the College Street Church of Burlington he was a faithful and devoted member, and its clerk from its organization in 1860 until 1901.

He employed the leisure of many months in editing and supplementing Gilman's Bibliography of Vermont, which had previously been published only in the columns of a weekly paper. This was a labor of love, most cheerfully and competently performed to the honor of his native State.

His editorial career covered a period of fifty-four years, and he had long been recognized as the Dean of Vermont Journalism. His leaders were always couched in a perspicuous and forcible English style. He kept his paper on the right side of debatable moral questions. In matters political he always acted with the Republican party, reserving to himself the right of criticism and dissent, even to the extent of "bolting" upon what he deemed just occasion. In later years he wrote less for his paper, but

never ceased to take pride in its reputation and influence, always exercising his right as editor-in-chief to direct its general policy and counsel his subordinates, his relations with whom were invariably considerate and gracious. Articles from his pen usually revealed the writer by their qualities of thought or style. Never the mere partisan, he was uniformly courteous in debate, an honorable and generous opponent.

In 1865 he was made a trustee of the University of Vermont, and served as Secretary of the board from that date till his decease. His lifelong acquaintance with the affairs of the University gave him large influence in the corporation and enabled him to render valuable service to his Alma Mater. This long devotion to her interests, as also the noteworthy qualities of the Journalist and the Historian, were very properly recognized by her in 1904 by the bestowment of the degree of Doctor of Letters.

In his native town no man stood above him in social position or in the general regard. His departure has left no one equally competent, even if equally willing, to answer questions whether of early Vermont history, or university administration, or regarding the general interests, civil and social, of the municipality. The gentleman and scholar, the neighbor and friend, the soldier and the citizen, has left an enviable legacy to those who most nearly cherish his name and memory.

Mr. Benedict was married October 27, 1853, to Mary Anne Kellogg, of Canaan, N. Y. She died in November, 1857, and December 22, 1864, he was married to Katharine Almira Pease of Rochester, N. Y. (daughter of the Rev. Calvin Pease, D.D., formerly President of the University of Vermont), who survives him with one son, Professor George Wylls Benedict, of Brown University, and a daughter, Mary Frances, by his first wife.

## DR. C. ELLIS STEVENS.

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By JAMES A. HOLDEN.

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By the death of the Rev. C. Ellis Stevens, Ph.D. LL.D., D.C.L., which occurred at his summer home near Shelving Rock, Lake George, Tuesday, August 28, 1906, the New York State Historical Association was deprived of the services of one of its most active, influential and valuable members. Dr. Stevens' illness had been of such a comparatively brief duration, that his death came as a great surprise and shock to his many friends and acquaintances, in this country and abroad.

As a student, a writer and an authority on Constitutional Law, Dr. Stevens was widely and favorably known throughout this country and Europe. He was greatly interested in the success and advancement of this Association. Whenever possible, he was present at its meetings, his suggestions being always helpful and his work in its interests most beneficial. As chairman of the Committee on Membership during the year 1905-06 he succeeded in bringing in closer touch with the Association a large number of influential men, whose connection with it cannot but prove of the utmost benefit. At the time of his death he was the Third Vice-President of the Association. His very able address on "The Evolution of American Free Government," which was delivered at the annual meeting held at Lake George in 1901, is considered by many members of the Association to be one of the most valuable papers given before it.

At the time of his death Dr. Stevens was about fifty-three years old, and apparently had many years of usefulness before him. His career was in many ways a most remarkable one. For more than two hundred and fifty years his ancestors had been prominent in the formation and founding of this country. His great-great-grandfather was a Colonel in the Revolution, and his



great-grandfather fought at the Battle of Bennington under General Stark, being one of the officers commanding the storming party which successfully carried the redoubt of the enemy in that battle. Dr. Stevens belonged to the Sons of the Revolution, and other patriotic organizations, and for many years was Historian General of the Society of Colonial Wars in the United States.

Dr. Stevens was born in Boston, July 5, 1853. He studied at the University of Pennsylvania and at Yale, and in 1875 was graduated from the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. That year, and the year following his graduation was spent at the Court of Italy with his cousin the late George P. Marsh, representing the United States at that Court. As a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Dr. Stevens began his career in the Diocese of Long Island where he had charge of two parishes in Brooklyn in succession, rising to an influential position in the Diocese, becoming Chairman of the Missionary Board, and acting on many of the responsible diocesan committees, finally attaining the position of Arch Deacon in the Cathedral. Acting in this latter capacity he founded five new parishes within three years. From Brooklyn Dr. Stevens was called to the rectorate of Christ Episcopal Church, Second Street, Philadelphia, which office he held for many years, becoming one of the most widely known clergymen in the city. Resigning this position a little more than two years before he died, he removed to Brooklyn, where he remained doing literary and missionary work. His specialty was Constitutional Law, along which line he was considered an expert. For several years he was lecturer on Constitutional Law at St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y., and also special lecturer at the University of the City of New York, and the University of Pennsylvania. He was a frequent contributor to the press, doing much along the line of governmental science. As author of the work "Sources of the Constitution of the United States" he won literary reputation in this country and abroad, his book being translated into several languages. He received from the Queen Regent of Spain, the decoration of the Order of Isabella on recommendation of the Spanish Government, and was made Knight Commander of one of the highest orders

of Portugal. Dr. Stevens was a member of the Royal Geographical Society of London, the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh, and other learned Associations. He was for many years the associate editor of the "Living Church." The degrees of Ph.D. and LL.D. were given him by Wooster University, while King's College, Nova Scotia, bestowed upon him the degree of D.C.L.

This Association in entering this memoir on its minutes feels to congratulate itself on having had the privilege of association with this capable and earnest scholar, and desires at this time to express its regret at the great loss sustained by it through his untimely taking away.

## EDWARD MANNING RUTTENBER.

Died Dec. 5, 1907.

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By WILLIAM WAIT.

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By the death of Edward M. Ruttenber, The New York Historical Association has lost one of its most valued and distinguished members. He was born on July 17, 1825, in the town of Bennington, Vt., and was of Holland-English New England ancestry that can be traced to a very early date in the Colonial period. He was educated at home and in the district schools, and at the tender age of twelve years began to learn the printer's trade in the office of The Vermont Gazette, at Bennington. After spending a year in that office he removed to Newburgh, New York, in the fall of 1838, and was indentured apprentice to Charles U. Cushman, in the office of The Newburgh Telegraph; was transferred to The Newburgh Gazette in 1839, and returned to The Telegraph as its foreman in 1845. He purchased the establishment in 1850, added to it the office of The Newburgh Excelsior in 1852, and subsequently, by consolidation, acquired the office of The Newburgh Gazette and Daily News, and remained in the business of printing (with the exception of the years 1864-65, when he was connected with the Bureau of Military Statistics, at Albany) until 1887, when he accepted the appointment of Superintendent of the Folding Department of the Government Printing Office at Washington, in which capacity he served until the spring of 1889, when he resigned.

During his connection with the press of Newburgh he added the first cylinder press and the first steam engine employed in printing in that city, and was connected with the first daily newspaper which was published there.



For sixteen years he served as a member of the Board of Education of Newburgh, and for about two years was Superintendent of the Schools. With these exceptions he never held elective official position. He successfully founded a free library in Newburgh, sustained by public tax,—the first of its character in the State; and was instrumental in obtaining for the public the Headquarters of Washington, in the same city, with its priceless museum of Revolutionary relics. During his whole life he stood at the front among the workers for every movement for the public good yet his modesty was such that he shrank from public recognition of his services. Dryden truly says,—“There’s a proud modesty in merit!”

In 1847 he married Matilda A., daughter of Mark McIntyre, and had two sons, Charles B., and James W. F., all of whom survive him.

The above is a record of the life of a busy man, ever active and always progressive, giving full measure of labor to his fellow men for the wage he demanded and obtained from them for the honorable maintenance of himself and those dependent upon him,—a life full to completion, and untarnished.

But there was another side to Edward M. Ruttenber, we might almost say there was another man,—the profound student whose poetic nature led him back into the shadow-land of the past, back to the days of the red men who, as he said, “for ages hunted the deer, chanted songs of love, and raised fierce war cries among the hills and valleys, the lakes and waterfalls of our country.”

The hours which other men used for recreation and social intercourse he spent in the quiet of his study, scanning with diligence the records of the past, arranging and classifying its incidents, and fitting together bit by bit the little pieces of fact until they made a harmonious whole and gave to the world some new historical truth which he had rescued from oblivion.

For many years he was a prolific writer for the newspapers and magazines, on historical subjects, most of his work being given to the public without compensation. Occasionally the product of his labor was put in book form, his most important works being the following: “History of Newburgh,” published in 1859; “History of the Flags of New York’s Regiments,” published in

1865; "History of the Revolutionary Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River," published in 1866; "History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River," published in 1872; and "History of Orange County," published in 1881. All of these books have long been out of print and are eagerly sought by buyers at high prices.

The crowning work of his life, the product of many long years of patient research and study, was completed shortly before his death and was given by him to this Association for publication. That work, "Footprints of the Red Men. Indian Geographical Names in the Valley of Hudson's River, the Valley of the Mohawk, and on the Delaware; Their Location and the Probable Meaning of Some of Them," was published by this Association in 1906. Readers of that book can never appreciate the vast amount of time and labor its author consumed upon it. Weeks and even months were frequently spent to determine the meaning and location of a single word, and sometimes a journey to the locality was necessary to determine whether the interpretation fitted the object named. The publication of this volume has added much to the prestige of this association and we do well to honor its author, who honored us with his master production.

Mr. Ruttenber was a splendid specimen of manhood, even in advanced age erect and commanding in figure, with strong intellectual features and piercing though kindly eyes. His intellect was keenly judicial and discriminating though softened by a tender poetic nature that greatly endeared him to his many friends. He was a strong man in every sense of the word. His character is best shown by a few little incidents that have come under our observation.

A homeless kitten was run over by a wagon in the street and its lower jaw broken. Mr. Ruttenber picked it up and took it home, carefully bound the broken bones in place and nursed it until well. It grew to an extraordinary size and became much attached to him, its favorite resting place while he was writing being on his desk in front of him.

After his book was turned over to the Association for publication we became a very frequent visitor to him, but shortly after its completion we were called away for several months and did not

make our usual calls. To his keenly sensitive nature this seemed like a slight after obtaining from him the cherished work of his life. Upon our return we hastened to his home and rang the bell. He came to the door, but the infirmities of age prevented a recognition at once. Suddenly he perceived who his visitor was, and folding us in his arms he exclaimed, "God bless you, boy, I thought you had forgotten me."

In February, 1891, a number of the representative citizens of Newburgh, wishing to honor him for the distinguished services he had rendered the city and county, sent him a most cordial invitation to be their guest at a social dinner. His reply, in part, follows, and is characteristic of his life. "The invitation which it conveys is itself a priceless testimonial of the good-will of many with whom I have walked in relations of personal regard from youth to the present time, and of others who have come upon the stage of action in later years, with whom my intercourse has not been less pleasant. Accepting it in the spirit in which it is offered, and with the most sincere thanks, I must, in respect to my own feelings, decline the more formal acknowledgment which it proposes. A toiler in the ranks from my youth up, and largely withdrawn from the walks of leisure in the prosecution of studies to which an irresistible natural impulse led me, I have had my reward in the satisfaction which those studies afforded in rescuing from oblivion and preserving the services which others have performed for God and country and fellowmen."

He was not only a student of Indian history, but he was active in gathering and preserving from loss the shreds of fact upon which could be constructed truthful histories of the lives of many of the early settlers and their descendants. At a meeting of the local historical society of which he was a member one of his associates said of him:

"In the death of Mr. Ruttenber not only this society but this community and the whole country have suffered a great loss. His place was unique — temperament, occupation, training, environment and a long life — all combined to form the man and give him the position of writer, historian, publisher and citizen, which no successor can hope to fill. His fund of information, largely, will be lost by his death, for only a small part of it has been, or



could have been, made a matter of record. This is particularly to be regretted concerning local matters. His life extended back into so early a part of our history, and covered so much of the period of wonderful discoveries and of the great development of this nation, that with his power of observation and inclination to research, it made him a storehouse of information. This combined with the always cheerful readiness to impart his knowledge and views, made him not only a pleasant companion, but a most valued member of society. We shall never again meet a man so active himself and anxious to urge others to be the same. He had a singularly clear and serious intellect and his playful humor was most humanly tender, making him a rare combination. His humor, while exciting laughter, was never pointless and always had a serious purpose. There was a flash of brilliant suggestion, but it illuminated a point which was worthy of serious and continued thought."

We consider it a great privilege to have known Mr. Ruttenber and to have been honored by his friendship, and while he has passed from us in the flesh he has left with us that which will make his name live among scholars and historians long after all that was mortal of him shall have returned to the dust from whence it came.

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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The Tenth Annual Meeting with List of Members.

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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The Tenth Annual Meeting with List of Members.

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TRUSTEES.

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION 1908

Hon. Hugh Hastings, Albany, N. Y. Term expires 1909.  
Mr. Asahel H. Wind, Fort Edward. Term expires 1909.  
Hon. D. S. Alexander, Buffalo. Term expires 1909.  
**President.**

Hon. John H. Burdick, Schenectady. Term expires 1909.  
Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill. Term expires 1909.  
Dr. Clark Bell, New York. Term expires 1909.

**First Vice-President.**  
Mr. Morris Patterson, New York. Term expires 1909.  
Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Buffalo. Term expires 1909.

Hon. James A. Roberts, New York. Term expires 1910.  
Miss Jane M. Wood, Buffalo. Term expires 1910.  
Mr. James A. Holden, Glens Falls. Term expires 1910.

**Second Vice-President.**  
Hon. Edwin H. Zear, Hornell. Term expires 1910.  
Hon. Peter A. Porter, Glens Falls. Term expires 1910.  
Dr. Robert K. Sawyer, Sandy Hill. Term expires 1910.

**Third Vice-President.**  
Dr. William O. Stillman, Albany. Term expires 1910.  
Dr. A. S. Deane, Albany. Term expires 1910.

**Treasurer.**  
Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls. Term expires 1910.  
Mr. Howard Bell, New York. Term expires 1910.

Gen. Henry E. Townsend, New York. Term expires 1911.  
Mr. William H. Kidder, Kingston. Term expires 1911.  
Dr. Sherman Williams, Fort Edward. Term expires 1911.

**Secretary.**  
Mr. Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward. Term expires 1911.  
Mr. Francis W. Hale, New York. Term expires 1911.

**Assistant Secretary.**  
Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls. Term expires 1911.  
Dr. William O. Stillman, Albany. Term expires 1911.  
Dr. Joseph A. King, Fort Edward. Term expires 1911.

## TRUSTEES.

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Hon. Hugh Hastings, Albany, N. Y.....	Term expires 1909.
Mr. Asahel R. Wing, Fort Edward.....	Term expires 1909.
Hon. D. S. Alexander, Buffalo.....	Term expires 1909.
Rev. John H. Brandow, Schoharie.....	Term expires 1909.
Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill.....	Term expires 1909.
Dr. Clark Bell, New York.....	Term expires 1909.
Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris, New York ....	Term expires 1909.
Dr. Arthur W. Hurd, Buffalo.....	Term expires 1909.
Hon. James A. Roberts, New York.....	Term expires 1910.
Miss Jane Mead Welch, Buffalo.....	Term expires 1910.
Mr. James A. Holden, Glens Falls.....	Term expires 1910.
Hon. Irwin W. Near, Hornell.....	Term expires 1910.
Hon. Peter A. Porter, Niagara Falls.....	Term expires 1910.
Dr. Everett R. Sawyer, Sandy Hill.....	Term expires 1910.
Dr. A. S. Draper, Albany.....	Term expires 1910.
Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls.....	Term expires 1910.
Mr. Howland Pell, New York.....	Term expires 1910.
Gen. Henry E. Tremain, New York.....	Term expires 1911.
Mr. William Wait, Kinderhook.....	Term expires 1911.
Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls.....	Term expires 1911.
Mr. Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward.....	Term expires 1911.
Mr. Francis W. Halsey, New York.....	Term expires 1911.
Mr. Frank H. Severance, Buffalo.....	Term expires 1911.
Dr. William O. Stillman, Albany.....	Term expires 1911.
Dr. Joseph A. King, Fort Edward.....	Term expires 1911.

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

**Tenth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association,  
Held in the Assembly Hall of the Albany Institute and Historical  
and Art Society, Albany, N. Y., October 12, 13 and 14, 1908.**

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The first session of the meeting was opened by President Hon. James A. Roberts at 8 P. M., October 12th. The first paper was introductory remarks by Danforth E. Ainsworth, Vice-President of the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society. This was followed by the President's annual address and the third and closing address was given by Right Reverend Richard H. Nelson, D.D., Coadjutor Bishop Episcopal Diocese of Albany. (This was not a written paper but a talk by the Bishop to illustrate that the popular notion was that historical research was merely an amusement for bookworms and other impractical people, but it should be a study for practical men, for, without history we would not be able to handle the problems of the present day. If we of the present day were deprived of the advantage of all the happenings of the past, we would be like ships without rudders.)

The second session, Tuesday, October 13, 9:30 A. M., was opened by a business meeting of the Association. There being a quorum present, the meeting was called to order by Hon. James A. Roberts. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. The annual report of James A. Holden, Treasurer, was read and adopted. The report is as follows:

1907.	
Aug. 21. Cash on hand.....	\$65 48
Received from dues, books, etc.....	586 10
	————— \$651 58

## DISBURSEMENTS.

1907.	
Sept. 23. R. O. Bascom, expenses to Buffalo.....	\$40 59
A. S. Draper, expenses to Buffalo.....	20 30
Oct. 10. Postage . . . . .	5 00
Nov. 12. Postage, express, etc. . . . .	2 99



1908.

Jan. 28.	Postage . . . . .	\$10 00
Feb. 1.	Newburgh Journal . . . . .	161 35
	Expense, opening new books . . . . .	10 00
2.	Elwyn Seelye, care of Lake George grounds . . . . .	8 00
15.	John Dwyer, programs, postals, etc. 1905-07 . . . . .	24 50
	Grenville M. Ingalsbe, programs, postals, etc. . . . .	17 63
Mar. 3.	Postage, (Bascom) . . . . .	27 00
9.	Express on cuts . . . . .	85
14.	Postage (Bascom) . . . . .	5 49
	G. F. Publishing Co. . . . .	75 00
24.	Postage (Bascom) . . . . .	3 22
April 3.	Postage (Bascom) . . . . .	4 00
11.	Postage (Bascom) . . . . .	2 00
June 30.	G. F. Publishing Co. . . . .	150 00
Sept. 17.	Postage . . . . .	5 58
30.	G. F. Publishing Co. . . . .	50 00
	<b>Balance</b> . . . . .	<b>\$28 08</b>
<b>ASSETS.</b>		
Oct. 8.	Cash on hand . . . . .	\$28 08
	Dues back one year . . . . .	236 00
	Dues back two years . . . . .	84 00
	Dues back three years . . . . .	90 00
	Dues back four years . . . . .	16 00
	Dues back five years . . . . .	10 00
	<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<b>464 08</b>
<b>LIABILITIES.</b>		
	<b>Balance, G. F. Publishing Co.</b> . . . . .	<b>41 50</b>
	<b>Total balance</b> . . . . .	<b>\$422 58</b>
	Life membership fund . . . . .	\$287 88
	Interest to July 1, 1908 . . . . .	4 30
	<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<b>292 18</b>

## DISBURSEMENTS

Sept. 23.	Dr. G. F. Publishing Co. expenses to Buffalo . . . . .	\$10 50
Oct. 10.	Postage . . . . .	5 00
Nov. 15.	Postage, etc. . . . .	2 00

The report of Sherman Williams, Chairman of the Committee for marking Historical Spots is as follows:

GLENS FALLS, N. Y., October 10, 1908.

*To the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association:*

GENTLEMEN:—I beg to make the following statement regarding the work of the committee on marking historical spots. We have purchased Bloody pond, taking title in name of the Association.

We paid for the pond and land around it.....	\$305.00
For clearing the rubbish from the shores and building a road around the pond.....	294.50
For drawing boulder for marker.....	20.00
For setting bronze tablet on stone.....	17.20
For posts for fence around property.....	15.45
For recording deeds.....	1.50
For tile.....	9.64
The bronze tablet cost.....	125.00

There is to be built a slight wire fence around the premises and some trees should be set out in the spring. All the sums above named have been paid out of money subscribed by the people of Sandy Hill, Glens Falls and Lake George with the exception of a subscription of ten dollars made by the Saratoga Chapter of the Sons of the Revolution of which I wish to make special mention.

I inclose deed of the property. I had hoped that we might have some public exercises on the completion of the work, but the lateness of the season and other matters prevented. I have asked Mr. Holden to write up a report of the historical events associated with Bloody pond which is to be considered as a part of this report. I have not been able to consult with my associates since preparing this statement.

Respectfully submitted,  
SHERMAN WILLIAMS.

It was resolved that the report be placed on file and that an expression of the appreciation of the Association for the good work done be extended to the committee.

The report of Judge Ingalsbe, Chairman of the Committee on Programs was received and approved.

The report of Judge Ingalsbe, Chairman of the Committee on Closer Relations between the Historical Societies of the State was received and approved.

It was resolved that the Committee of Closer Relations between the Historical Societies be continued and that power be given them to add such persons as they see fit to their membership.

The following names proposed for membership were read and elected as members of the Association:

John H. Finley, President College City of New York.

John Kennedy, Batavia, N. Y.

Wellington E. Gordon, Patchogue, N. Y.

Rev. A. A. Miller, Canisus College, Buffalo, N. Y.

Luther N. Steele, Canandaigua, N. Y.

Hugh H. Lansing, Watervliet, N. Y.

L. O. Markham, Haverstraw, N. Y.

J. C. Van Etten, Medina, N. Y.

N. Winton Palmer, Penn Yan, N. Y.

Joseph F. Butler, St. Bonaventure's College, Allegany, N. Y.

Edgar S. Barney, Hebrew Technical Institute, New York.

Joseph French Johnson, New York.

Samuel B. Ward, Albany, N. Y.

Albert B. Cotrell, Richburg, N. Y.

Seward Baker, Westchester, Bronx, N. Y.

Frank M. Baker, Owego, N. Y.

Dr. Ernst G. Eberhard, New York.

William H. Bailey, New York.

Carroll B. Bacon, Waterloo, N. Y.

Edgar Mayhew Bacon, The Owl's Nest, Tarrytown, N. Y.

George O. Baker, Clyde, N. Y.

Timothy D. Sullivan, County Judge, Long Lake, N. Y.

George W. Ward, County Judge, Little Falls, N. Y.

A. F. Bandelier, Archæology, New York.



- Henry Whalen Hill, State Senator, Buffalo, N. Y.  
Stephen C. Baldwin, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
George Addington, County Judge, Albany, N. Y.  
William T. O'Neil, State Senator, St. Regis Falls, N. Y.  
W. Fenton Myers, Surrogate, Amsterdam, N. Y.  
Albert K. Smiley, President, New Paltz Normal School, Lake Mohonk, N. Y.  
Albert Palmer Brooks, Metropolitan College of Music, New York.  
E. Falson Baker, Clergyman, Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y.  
Adrian Paradis, Brooklyn College of Pharmacy, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
William S. Bennett, Congressman, Washington, D. C.  
George M. Ward, President Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.  
Brother Joseph, Provincinal, St. Joseph's Normal College, Pocantico Hills, N. Y.  
J. Edward Banta, Superintendent of Schools, Binghamton, N. Y.  
Frank A. Bell, Lawyer, Waverly, N. Y.  
Harley N. Crosby, Surrogate, Falconer, N. Y.  
Esther M. Satterlee, Elmira Training School, Elmira, N. Y.  
Edgar S. K. Merrill, County Judge, Lowville, N. Y.  
Frederick G. Traver, Lawyer, Kingston, N. Y.  
Fayette E. Mayer, Lawyer, Johnstown, N. Y.  
Edward L. Merritt, Kingston, N. Y.  
Winfield S. Thrasher, County Judge, Dayton, N. Y.  
William Sohmer, State Senator, New York.  
Nash Rockwood, County Judge, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.  
Clyde W. Knapp, Lyons, N. Y.  
Alfred C. Thompson, Superintendent of Schools, Auburn, N. Y.  
Isaac S. Signor, County Judge, Albion, N. Y.  
Abraham Abraham, Merchant, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Percy L. Bugbee, Principal, Oneonta Normal School, Oneonta, N. Y.  
Fred B. Wait, Lawyer, Adams, N. Y.  
Gilbert H. Baker, County Judge, Penn Yan, N. Y.  
Charles R. Paris, County Judge, Sandy Hill, N. Y.  
Charles F. Cantine, County Judge, Kingston, N. Y.  
David T. Abercrombie, Manufacturer, Newark, N. J.  
F. E. Smith, Superintendent of Schools, Cortland, N. Y.  
Francis M. Carpenter, State Senator, Mt. Kisco, N. Y.  
Frank Evans Balger, Forestport, N. Y.

- Ezra A. Barnes, Oswego, N. Y.  
 R. E. Healey, County Judge, Plattsburgh, N. Y.  
 Danforth E. Ainsworth, Albany, N. Y.  
 James Abbott, Yonkers, N. Y.  
 George Grey Ballard, Fredonia, N. Y.  
 George M. Wiley, Dunkirk, N. Y.  
 Bertha Kunz Baker, New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.  
 Elba Reynolds, Belmont, N. Y.  
 Julien Scott, Lawyer, Bainbridge, N. Y.  
 Charles O. Townsend, County Judge, Interlaken, N. Y.  
 John B. Swezey, Surrogate, Goshen, N. Y.  
 Joseph Rösch, Lawyer, Liberty, N. Y.  
 Alexander F. Liantard, Paris, France.  
 Edward A. Washburn, County Judge, Batavia, N. Y.  
 T. B. Dunn, New York.  
 Frederick B. VanKleeck, White Plains, N. Y.  
 Alfred J. Gilchrist, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Syracuse Public Library, Syracuse, N. Y.  
 James M. Belford, Surrogate, Riverhead, N. Y.  
 Homer N. Bartlett, New York.  
 Arthur William Barber, Lawyer, New York.  
 Alanson Douglas Bartholomew, Lawyer, Whitehall, N. Y.  
 John Hendly Barnhart, New York Botanical Garden, Bronx,  
 N. Y.  
 Hyman J. Barnett, Lawyer, New York.  
 Phillip P. Barton, Engineer, Niagara Falls, N. Y.  
 Clark Bell, Editor, New York.  
 Charles D. Bean, Lawyer, Geneva, N. Y.  
 C. W. Bardeen, Author, Syracuse, N. Y.  
 William Beauchamp, Clergyman, Syracuse, N. Y.  
 Paul Baumgarten, Merchant, New York.  
 Edward Stevens Beach, Lawyer, New York.  
 Curtis J. Beard, Cashier, New York.  
 George Lewis Beer, Author, New York.  
 Frances J. A. Barnes, New York.  
 James Rice Bateman, New York.  
 Guy H. Baskerville, White Plains, N. Y.  
 George Nelson Bell, Kingston, N. Y.

Myron E. Bartlett, County Judge, Warsaw, N. Y.  
 Samuel T. Barrows, Author, New York.  
 Clinton T. Taylor, Lawyer, White Plains, N. Y.  
 Dr. Wm. A. E. Cummings, President, Ticonderoga Historical  
 Society, Ticonderoga, N. Y.  
 Henry Overing Tallmadge, New York.  
 Walter W. Battershall, Clergyman, Albany, N. Y.  
 Clinton Tallmadge Taylor, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.  
 Edward H. Brush, New York.  
 John E. Milholland, New York.  
 David Williams, Publisher, New York.  
 Frank H. Severance, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 H. F. Kingsley, Schoharie, N. Y.  
 John T. D. Blackburn, Albany, N. Y.  
 Hon. Verplanck Colvin, Albany, N. Y.  
 James McKean, Lawyer, New York.

*Resolved*, That a vote of thanks be extended to the secretary of the Association and the committee on membership for the list of new members.

*Resolved*, That the committee on new membership be continued.

At the election of Trustees the following Trustees, whose terms of office expire 1911, were elected:

Gen. Henry E. Tremain, New York, to succeed himself.  
 Mr. William Wait, Kinderhook, to succeed himself.  
 Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls, to succeed himself.  
 Mr. Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward, to succeed himself.  
 Mr. Francis W. Halsey, New York, to succeed himself.  
 Mr. Frank H. Severance, Buffalo, to succeed Mr. Harry W. Watrous, Hague.  
 Dr. Williams O. Stillman, Albany, to succeed Com. John W. Moore, Bolton Landing.  
 Dr. Joseph E. King, Fort Edward, to succeed himself.

Also, Dr. Clark Bell, 39 Broadway, New York, to succeed William L. Stone, deceased, whose term of office expires 1909.

Memorials were presented and ordered printed upon the death of members.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned.



The meeting of the Board of Trustees was adjourned until 2 P. M., and the third session, scheduled for 11 A. M., was called to order. An address, "A State Historical Museum," was given by Dr. John M. Clarke, Director New York State Museum, Albany, N. Y. This was followed by an exhibition of the national wampums of the Iroquois, an explanation of which was given by Arthur C. Parker, a member of the Seneca tribe of Indians by descent. At the conclusion of the remarks by Mr. Parker, permission was given to ask him questions by any member of the Association present, and Mr. Parker gave very satisfactory and complete answers to every question asked.

Mr. James A. Holden of Glens Falls then opened a discussion on the subject of a State Historical Museum, followed by Dr. Stillman, Dr. Bell, and Dr. King. At the conclusion of the discussion it was resolved that the Association approve the admirably developed and scientific scheme of a State Historical Museum by cultures as so clearly outlined by Dr. Clerk in his interesting and instructive address, and that we pledge to him our hearty and cordial support and co-operation.

It was also resolved that a vote of thanks be tendered to Mr. Parker for the explanation of national wampum and Indian customs which he so ably presented.

An adjourned meeting of the Board of Trustees, held at 2 P. M. October 13th, was called to order by President Roberts. There were present: Trustees Roberts, Holden, Sawyer, King, Severance, Bell, Ingalsbe, Stillman, Richards, Miss Welch, also Mr. Seelye, of Lake George.

At the election of officers Hon. James A. Roberts was elected President; Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Vice-President; Dr. Sherman Williams, Second Vice-President; Dr. William O. Stillman, Third Vice-President; James A. Holden, Treasurer; Robert O. Bascom, Secretary, Frederick B. Richards, Assistant Secretary.

*Resolved*, That the Trustees thank the Secretary and Committee on Membership for the long list of new members.

*Resolved*, That the President be authorized and instructed to appoint the standing committees for the ensuing year.

*Resolved*, That whereas the New York State Historical Association was designated as Custodian of the Lake George Battle-

field by the Comptroller of the State of New York in December, 1900, and

*Whereas*, By action of the legislature in the spring of 1908, an appropriation of \$1,500 was placed at the disposal of the Comptroller for improvements on the Lake George Battlefield, now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the President appoint a committee consisting of Messrs. Inngalsbe, Seelye and Holden, who shall have full charge, power and authority, as the representatives of this Association, over said Lake George Battlefield, and be it further

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this meeting that this committee request the Comptroller to act with them in all matters pertaining to expenditure of these moneys in and upon said park, and that the Committee as soon as possible formulate a plan for expending such moneys, with the aid and approval of the State Comptroller for the purpose of improving and fixing up the park to the best advantage.

*Resolved*, That the Treasurer pay the Secretary's bill of \$24.05 which had been expended as follows:

For cartage on books, \$1; for circular letters, envelopes and membership blanks, \$9; for express to Wisconsin State Library, 36 cents; express on books to the Toronto Historical Society, \$2.75; express paid on books, 50 cents; postage on books to members and return postage upon books that have not been delivered, \$4.64; postage and envelopes of notice of this meeting, \$5.80.

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of the two years, 1907 and 1908, be published in one volume and printed as soon as possible.

*Resolved*, That the sum of \$2 each per annum be appropriated to the Secretary and Treasurer as partial recognition of their services and that the same be retroactive.

At the request of the Treasurer it was resolved that a committee of two consisting of Messrs. Williams and Richards be appointed to audit the Treasurer's books.

*Resolved*, That Judge Ingalsbe be a committee with power to take such steps as are necessary to change the Articles of Incorporation of the Association.

The meeting was now adjourned.

This was followed by the fourth session scheduled for October 13th, at 2:30 P. M., at which an address on "The Function of State Historian of New York," was given by Victor Hugo Paltz, State Historian, Albany, N. Y. This was followed by a discussion opened by Miss Jane Meade Welch, of Buffalo. She established as the keynote of her remarks the fact that this country though comparatively new was the survival of all nations and pointed out the way every American citizen could cultivate interest in historical matters.

This was followed by a symposium, the subject being "Albany as a Colonial Center." Two papers were read, "The Patroon System and the Colony of Rensselaerswyck," by A. J. F. van Laer, Archivist, New York State Library, Albany, N. Y., and "Closing Phases of the Manorial System in Albany," by Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, LL.D., late Attorney-General of New York, Albany, N. Y.

On Tuesday evening, October 13, 1908, at 8 o'clock, a reception to the officers and members of the Association was given by the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society, at the Society's Buildings on Washington avenue.

Following the reception, Dr. Henry L. Taylor of the Educational Department of New York State, gave a lantern-slide lecture on "Historic Monuments and their preservation."

At the fifth session at 9:30 A. M., October 14th, Mr. Frank H. Severyance of Buffalo spoke in place of Hon. Henry W. Hill in regard to the Lake Champlain Tercentenary. This was followed by a discussion in which the principal speaker was Dr. William A. E. Gummings, President Ticonderoga Historical Society. He suggested that on account of its historical prominence Ticonderoga should be the central attraction during the Tercentennial celebration. This was warmly seconded by several speakers and the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That this Association assures the commissioners of the proposed celebration of the Tercentenary of Lake Champlain of its sympathy with their efforts and pledges its active, hearty and cordial co-operation in the endeavor, and that the proposed State State and National Park at Fort Ticonderoga is earnestly desired and recommended to the Legislature of the States of New York, Vermont and the American Congress.



This was followed by a continuation of the Symposium in which the following papers were read: "The Hudson in the System of Intercolonial Waterways," by Henry P. Warren, L.H.D., Principal, The Albany Academy, Albany, N. Y.; "Home Life in the Colonial Days in Albany," by Hon. Joseph A. Lawson, Member Albany County Bar, Albany, N. Y.; "The Early Judicial and Colonial History of the Upper Hudson;" "Albany, Its Bench and Bar," by Clark Bell, LL.D., President Medico-Legal Society and Member of the Bar of New York, New York City.

The sixth and last session of the meeting was held at 2:30 P. M., October 14th, in which the first subject was a discussion on the establishment of closer relations between the historical societies of the State. The delegates present were Mr. Frank H. Severance, Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society; Hon. Danforth E. Ainsworth, Vice-President of the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society; Lucy M. Salmon, A.M., Professor of History, Vassar College; Dr. Charles F. McClumpha, President Montgomery County Historical Hostorical Society; Hon. A. Judd Northrup, President Onondaga Historical Association; Dr. William A. E. Cummings, President Ticonderoga Historical Association; Edwin J. Brown and the Misses Louise and Lily Higginbotham of the Madison County Historical Society; Rev. E. Huntington Coley of the Oneida Historical Society; Charles E. Dur- yee, President, DeLancey W. Watkins, and M. F. Westover of the Schenectady County Society.

After the discussion of Symposium was continued by the following papers: "Early Religious Teachers in Albany," by Rev. Joseph Hooper, Rector Epiphany Church, Durham, Conn.; "Early Colonial Charters of the City of Albany," by Frank B. Gilbert, Chief of Law Division of the Department of Education, State of New York, Albany, N. Y.; "The First Railroad in New York State," being a photographic survey of a portion of the Mohawk and Hudson River Railroad, by Henry L. Taylor, Ph.D., Albany, N. Y.

At the conclusion of the meeting it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Association be, and they are hereby tendered to Dr. William O. Stillman, the Chairman of the

Committee of Arrangements, for his unremitting and indefatigable efforts to make this meeting a success, and also to the individual members of the Committee for their kind attention and their hearty co-operation with their Chairman.

It was also

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Association be and they are hereby tendered to the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society for the innumerable courtesies, and the unbounded hospitality which has been extended to this Association during all of the sessions of its Tenth Annual Meeting.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS,

*Assistant Secretary.*

## ADDRESS OF WELCOME

HON. DANFORTH E. AINSWORTH.

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The Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society extend a cordial welcome to the officers and members of the New York State Historical Association. I regret that the absence of our President from the city prevents this welcome being extended in more fitting words by him.

We are not the keepers of the keys of the city, and therefore, cannot give you its freedom as could our Mayor, if present, but we do feel that we are the custodians of the hospitality of the citizens of this historic old town, all of whom, we assure you, will endeavor to make your stay within our borders profitable and pleasant.

A few years ago, I spent an interesting day in the Tower of London. Journeying over the British Empire, rich in its historic traditions, I frequently regretted that America had so little of historical interest. But as I looked at the instruments of torture in that old tower and had pointed out to me the gruesome relics that marked the progress of that empire through the various stages of its governmental development, I thought it was not so much of a calamity that my homeland did not have a history extending into the remote past.

Your meeting is held in a city, however, rich in historical associations, with incidents that can be reviewed with pleasure.

Here, in a building still standing, on Broadway, and occupied for business purposes, was held the first conference to consider the union of the colonies for defense against a common foe which was presided over by that accomplished diplomat and typical American, Benjamin Franklin.

Here, in its lusty old age, still exists the Girls' Academy, the oldest institution for the higher education of women in the world. Just below us, fronting the Capitol park, stands the Boys' Academy, in which building was made the first practical demonstra-



tion of the use of electricity for communicating human intelligence and the electric telegraph was there born, with Professor Henry, an Albanian, as its father.

Here, the first American steam railway for the transportation of passengers and freight was constructed and the city is just acquiring its well-defined roadbed for a historical boulevard.

Just below us on the opposite banks of the Hudson river, stands the old Dutch Manor house in which the inspiring strains of Yankee Doodle were composed, and whose grim portholes speak of the daily tragedy of Indian warfare.

Albany was one of the termini of the first steamboat lines established on the Continent, while Western avenue is one of the great historic highways of America over which the endless line of emigrants passed in their toilsome journey to the Middle West. Here, the first manorial system of America was established. And near Steamboat square in our city stood the old Dutch Church, the second building for public religious worship erected on the Continent, and its silver communion set presented by the King and Queen of Holland is still in constant use by its successor. Just below Pearl on State street can be seen the oldest bank building on the Continent, still in constant use. Albany was the eastern terminus of that first great artificial waterway constructed upon the Continent, while the Hudson and Mohawk were the natural highways over which passed the missionary and early trader in his incursions into the interior. In our city hall may be seen the Dongan Charter granted in 1686, giving life to the second municipality upon the Continent and the only charter for a municipal government in the land in continuous existence since that date. Here lived General Philip Schuyler, who planned the decisive battle of Saratoga and in his residence, still standing on Schuyler street, his daughter was married to Alexander Hamilton, America's most constructive statesman.

And in its more than two hundred and twenty years of eventful existence, the old city has never capitulated to an armed force. While Jamestown lost its existence and St. Augustine and New York were the frequent scenes of carnage and bloodshed, the old phlegmatic Dutchman sat on the banks of the historic Hudson, quietly smoking his pipe, and with honest frugality and shrewd

business instinct guarded the gateway to the West. He built up his fortune in peaceful commerce with the Indian tribes that always looked to the fortifications on our hills for assistance against the insidious encroachments of the French emissaries from the North.

What city more fit as a meeting place for those societies whose object it is to gather and preserve the records of these historical incidents in the life of our State and nation?

The Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society, with its one hundred and nineteen years of venerable life, welcomes the State Association, so recently formed, in a beautiful building, a fitting home for its rich historic treasures.

This sacred shrine in the midst of this historic atmosphere is an inspiring meeting place for our home society and we hope it will be so attractive that you will come to our city again and again, stimulating by your presence historic research into the past, so honorable, and so rich with promise for the future.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

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HON. JAMES A. ROBERTS.

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One of the recognized privileges of the President of this Association is to present to its annual meetings a review of such works relating to American History as have appeared during the previous year. If I were to regard this assignment as personal, I should be almost disposed to consider it a determination of the Committee to get even with me for the indolent and slipshod ways into which I, as President, had fallen. To do the task as it should be done involves more time than I can spare to it, and therefore my review is discursive, careless, unsatisfactory, and no doubt many things are omitted which should receive mention. Aside from the unpleasant sensation which one experiences when he realizes that he is doing a poor job, the duty is very congenial.

Works of history and fiction treating of the Colonial and Revolutionary period and that immediately succeeding the latter have been so numerous in the last few years as to suggest the existence of a specially lively interest in subjects of this character. The Quebec tercentenary ceremonies last summer and the forthcoming celebration in our own State next year, of the 300th anniversary of the discovery of Lake Champlain have led to the publication of much historical matter pertaining to these related subjects. It may be expected that from now on we shall be favored with historical publications bearing more or less directly on the War of 1812, the centennial of which will be celebrated four years hence. Related to the Quebec tercentenary is the work by Professor C. W. Colby of McGill University, entitled "Canadian Types of the Old Régime," Henry Holt & Company, publishers. In it the history of French colonization is grouped around the personalities of Champlain, the explorer; Brehouf, the missionary; Hebert, the colonist; D'Iberville, the soldier; Talon, the Intendant; Laval, the Bishop, and Frontenac, the Governor.



Other anniversaries falling within the period are the centennial of Fulton's inauguration of steam navigation on the Hudson in 1807, and the tercentenary of Hendrick Hudson's discovery of the river bearing his name. The Fulton and Hudson anniversaries are to be commemorated together next year. In anticipation of the honors to Fulton, the Century Magazine is publishing a series of papers on "The Early Life of Robert Fulton," by Alice Crary Sutcliffe, a great granddaughter of the inventor.

The period of Hamilton and his contemporaries is one interesting both for historians and romancers. Among the latter is Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, who in a story entitled "The Red City," which has been running in the Century during the summer and autumn, describes the intrigues in this country of emissaries of France during the Reign of Terror, and the controversy between the Federalists, led by Hamilton, and the Republicans, led by Jefferson, over the matter of our relations with France. The story deals, too, with the terrible scenes in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1793 when that city was stricken by the plague. Dr. Mitchell has another Revolutionary story ready for publication, entitled "A Venture in 1777." It is interesting to note in this connection that Dr. Mitchell has been recently elected a foreign fellow of the Royal Society of England, of which Benjamin Franklin was the first American member and of which at the present time there are only four American members.

Two more works or essays on Hamilton, one by an Englishman, Frederick S. Oliver, and one by an American admirer, Alfred Neuberger, have appeared recently. The latter was occasioned by the 150th anniversary of Hamilton's birth, which occurred last year. The same year happened to be the 100th anniversary of the settlement of Paterson, N. J., and as Hamilton is regarded as the pre-eminently great man of that section, a statue of him was unveiled in honor of the occasion. A most notable historical address was delivered at the unveiling ceremonies by President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia. Last May, the statue of Hamilton for the campus of Columbia, which William Ordway Partridge had been commissioned to execute, was unveiled with appropriate exercises, which furnished another occasion for addresses eulogistic of the great Federalist statesman. These have

appeared in print in the University publications. As if a common impulse to honor him had seized the community, the Legislature at about that time passed a bill providing for the purchase and preservation by the city and patriotic societies, of his old home, Hamilton Grange, on Washington Heights, while at the National capital a movement has been started, earnestly endorsed by the President, looking to the erection of an appropriate monument to him there. It would be fitting that he should be especially honored at the seat of the national government, since he did so much to make that government what it is and was responsible more than any other one man for the location of the capital at Washington.

The study of Hamilton by Mr. Oliver, published by the Putnams, is interesting as an appreciation of his character and career, from a writer who naturally views the subject from the British point of observation. Hamilton was often charged with being a British sympathizer during the controversy between Federalists and Anti-Federalists. The fact was that as an ardent admirer of the British constitution, from which so many of the best features of our own governmental institutions are drawn, he became the natural defender of ideas based on such foundations. It did not follow from this that he was in favor of monarchy and there is ample proof in his writings to the contrary. His ardent affection for the Union, as a nation instead of a mere league of sovereign and independent states, explains his attitude in many of the controversies between Federalists and Republicans, and Mr. Oliver thinks that he inherited something of this instinct of loyalty to the nation from his ancestors of Scotland, "whose nationality is no abstraction but a tingling reality."

The discussion over the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence receives a further contribution in the work published by James H. Moore, entitled "Defense of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. An Exhaustive Review of, and Answer to, All Attacks on the Declaration." The author maintains that the similarity in phraseology between these resolutions and the Declaration adopted at Philadelphia, is due not to plagiarism, but to the fact that in each instrument use was made of words and phrases that were in the mouth of the people all

over the country. In this connection, it may be remarked that Thomas Jefferson, who ought to have known something about the subject, declared in a letter to John Adams, in 1819, the year in which the Mecklenburg resolutions were first published, his belief that they were spurious.

A work interesting for its bearing on the Colonial period in America is that of A. T. Story, describing the places in England connected with the ancestors of famous Americans and entitled "American Shrines in England." It tells about all that is known of the English estates of the families of Washington, Franklin, Penn, John Harvard, Eli Yale, and forbears of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Mary Johnson, author of "To have and To Hold," which is a story of early Virginia, has written a romance of the days of Thomas Jefferson, entitled "Lewis Rand." It is intended as a vivacious picture of the exciting early years of the last century in which the contest between the Jeffersonians and the Federalists reached perhaps its greatest intensity. The background of the story is the Virginia country which the author rendered familiar to her readers in her first successful venture in the field of fiction.

A romance, entitled "Montlivet," by Alice Prescott Smith, is a story of the days when French and English were each striving to wrest an empire from the red men. It is published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company. A story of Colonial days, for boys and girls, is that of Everett T. Tomlinson, entitled "The Camp Fire of Mad Anthony," also a Houghton, Mifflin & Company publication. It follows the adventures of Pennsylvania troops under General Wayne, and is valuable as a contribution in a popular style to a subject that has occasioned many literary and historical controversies.

Under the modern scheme of instruction in the public schools there is opportunity to enlist the pupil's interest in many ways in the customs of long ago in this country. This is taken advantage of by Wilbur F. Gordy, Superintendent of Schools, of Springfield, Mass., who has published through the Scribners an historical reader, entitled "Colonial Days," giving an idea, in graphic and easily understood language, of the customs and institutions of the period preceding the Revolution. The profuse illustrations add much to the interest.



The excellent series of volumes, entitled "Heroes of American History," which Frederick A. Ober has been writing for publication through the Harpers, has another contribution this year in the work entitled "John and Sebastian Cabot." The lives of these intrepid explorers and their claim to the discovery of the mainland of North America have long been obscured by controversy and conflicting documents. Mr. Ober makes clear many disputed points and his pages picture vividly the excitement and stir in England, Venice, and Spain, when the New World and its riches were the talk of King and peasant in the Old.

Still another recent volume by Mr. Ober is devoted to the romantic story of that famous Spanish seeker after the fabled fountain of youth, Juan Ponce de Leon. It is shown that this quest was only one of the many daring exploits this hardy soldier and adventurer undertook. Timeliness is given to the volume's appearance by the recent removal of the bones of Ponce de Leon from San José Church to the San Juan Cathedral, Porto Rico.

Among documentary publications pertaining to the Colonial and Revolutionary period may be mentioned that, entitled "Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey." These documents are chiefly extracts from American newspapers relating to the State and period in question. Volume III. concerns the year 1779. The work is edited by William Nelson and is published by the John I. Murphy Company, of Trenton.

The end of 1907 witnessed the publication of the concluding volumes in the Harpers series, entitled "The American Nation; a History," edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. "America as a World Power," and "National Ideals, Historically Traced," are two of these volumes, the first by John Holladay Latane, Ph.D., Professor of History in Washington and Lee University, and the second by Professor Hart. There is another volume by David Maydole Matteson, A.M., which constitutes an analytic index to the series. The volume by Dr. Latane gives a view of the expansion movement in the United States and related incidents, while Professor Hart in his final contribution to the series seeks to make clear that the American nation is a sequence of causes,

aspirations and results to which all our American forbears have contributed.

One of the important biographical contributions of the year is the work, entitled "Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden," edited by John Bigelow, LL.D., who will celebrate his ninety-first birthday in November. The work is in two volumes and from the press of the Harpers and throws much light upon one of the most interesting careers in American politics. This is the third work Mr. Bigelow has issued on the subject of Tilden's career. His literary activity at so advanced an age is another bit of evidence against the truth of the Osler theory. Mr. Bigelow himself has had a career which would furnish materials for a most interesting volume. He has been out of public life for many years and occupied his dignified retirement with literary and benevolent pursuits. The Tilden letters include those of Tilden himself and many written to the latter by others. They throw much light upon the public movements in which Governor Tilden was concerned.

Two other biographical volumes which will be likely to attract notice if not discussion are the "Reminiscences of Senator William H. Stewart," published by the Neale Publishing Company, and the "Life of Alexander H. Stephens," by Lewis Pendleton, issued by the George H. Jacobs Company in the "American Crisis" series. Two recent volumes of biography are "Life and Times of Stephen Higginson," by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and "Life of William Pitt Fessenden," by Francis Fessenden. The first is another work bearing on the times when Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and the Adams family were leaders in thought and discussion. As Thomas Wentworth Higginson's grandfather, the subject of the volume, was a New Englander, the book naturally deals especially with the social, political and commercial customs in that part of the Union during the period of the elder Higginson's career. The illustrations include rare family documents and portraits and some curious cuts of old Salem and Boston.

A volume on Abraham Lincoln, published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, contains Carl Schurz's brief biography of the great emancipator, together with an essay on the portraits of

Lincoln by Truman H. Bartlett, the sculptor, and the poems by Richard Watson Gilder on the mask and Edmund Clarence Stedman on the hand of the Martyr President.

Mr. Bartlett has made a lifelong study of the physiognomy of Lincoln and his keen analysis of his features possesses no little interest. Another book on Lincoln is that by an Englishman, Henry Bryan Binns, whose work forms one of the Dent "Temple Biographies." It has been characterized as "the first serious attempt made by an Englishman to portray on any full-sized canvas the greatest of the popular statesmen of the last century." The book contains no new facts but reaches some originalities of suggestion and comparison.

The Mexican War has recently been the subject of considerable discussion and study. A series of articles on this subject has occupied leading attention in a prominent magazine and now within a month or so, Charles H. Owen has issued, through G. P. Putnam's Sons, a work, entitled "The Justice of the Mexican War." In it he undertakes to show that there has been much misconception as to the motives which caused it to be undertaken. He defends Sam Houston and his followers and endeavors to make out a case showing that the war with Mexico was waged upon ample excuse and under strong provocation.

The publication under the auspices of the Buffalo Historical Society of the Millard Fillmore Papers, is well worth consideration. The editor, Mr. Frank H. Severance, has done through that society much valuable work not alone of local interest, but, as in the case of the stirring events along the Niagara Frontier in the War of 1812, his work is of State and National interest. As might be expected from Mr. Severance, the Fillmore papers have been admirably edited and arranged. No one can look through these papers without having his estimate of Mr. Fillmore's ability and character greatly increased. That he was a sincere patriot no one can doubt. It was his misfortune to hold his high office at a time of violent agitation and of great national danger, and that his course met the approval of men of the caliber of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay is strong evidence that his action was the wisest possible at the time. Events ripened so rapidly afterwards, and the ultimate result was so different from



the lines laid down in the "Great Compromises," that we are too apt to belittle the comprehension or sincerity of the men of the time of Fillmore's presidency. The man who, as a member of the Legislature of New York, drafted and put through the bill abolishing imprisonment for debt; who foresaw the possibilities of the telegraph, and in the face of deriding opposition contributed much to the passage of the bill through Congress making an appropriation for testing its practicability; who had an honored and dignified position in the National House of Representatives; who had been the almost successful candidate of a great party for Governor of New York, and who had and retained the friendship of a man like Daniel Webster, that man was not a small or unpatriotic man.

James Buchanan was an executive whose administration has not usually fared very well at the hands of historians. The third volume of the "Works of James Buchanan" has recently been issued by the J. B. Lippincott Company. This covers the period from February 12, 1836, to June 28, 1838. It contains many of the speeches Buchanan made while in the Senate, notably that on Calhoun's resolution against intermeddling with slavery, and the papers reveal much bearing upon Buchanan's actions and motives in after years and his course in meeting the problems which confronted his administration.

Andrew Johnson, too, has recently been the subject of historical discussion. Lincoln's successor and the acts of his administration form the topic of a series of magazine articles, consisting of reminiscences of William H. Cook, arranged by Margherita Spalding Gerry.

The Life of Jay Cooke, by Ellis Paxson Oberholzer, Ph.D. George W. Jacobs, publisher, is of more than passing interest. Our libraries are full of histories and reminiscences of the Civil War, but I do not know of any in which can be found so clear and full an account of how the enormous expenditures of that war were met, as in this life of its great financier. Mr. Oberholzer may seem something of a panegyrist, but still it is difficult to praise too highly the marvelous skill and energy which Mr. Cooke brought to his work. The country owes to his memory a profound debt of gratitude and he must be ranked but little below

Lincoln and Grant as one of the greatest contributors to our success. More than one-half of the \$2,800,000,000 expended in that fearful contest was raised directly through the houses of Jay Cooke & Company. To dispose of the government securities his agents went into every hamlet in the land, and it may well be a matter of patriotic pride that nearly all of that vast sum was contributed by our own people — not by the wealthy class alone, or even conspicuously, but by all classes, the farmer, the mechanic, the tradesman. In our great cities offices were opened evenings to give the laborers opportunity to invest in seven thirties or five twenties, and these offices were crowded with men and women with their \$50 and \$100, saved by stringent economy which they were anxious to invest in government bonds. And it proved to all investors an instance where confidence and patriotism were profitable. It is a coincidence that the two men who financed our greatest wars, Robert Morris and Jay Cooke, both found their homes and the center of their activities in Philadelphia; and both after performing eminent services for their country, met with serious financial disaster. We now know that in the case of each his misfortune was due not to lack of wisdom, but because he saw quicker and farther than his fellow citizens could be made to see.

Among historical works pertaining to sections and localities of the Union, which have come out during the year, is "The Story of a Border City During the Civil War," by Dr. Galusha Anderson, a former President of Chicago University. The "border city" is St. Louis, in which Dr. Anderson was pastor from 1858 to 1866. He records scenes he witnessed and portrays the incidents of controversies in which he participated as an ardent Abolitionist.

A work that belongs to the recent military history of the country is "A Campaign in Porto Rico," by Karl Stephen Herrmann, being an account of the operations in that island of the Independent Regular Brigade, under Brigadier-General Schwan, in the course of the Spanish War. E. H. Bacon & Company, of Boston, are the publishers.

Another work related to military affairs is from the pen of General Morris Schaff, who was at West Point just at the out-

break of the Civil War and caught the spirit of the hour in such a way as to transfer the life of the West Point Academy as he saw it into a picture both pleasing and instructive. The volume is entitled "The Spirit of Old West Point," and is published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company. It contains pen portraits of distinguished officers and sketches of student pranks and customs.

The Honorable Joseph M. Brown, who won the governorship of Georgia away from the Honorable Hoke Smith, is the author of an historical romance issued during the summer by the Broadway Publishing Company and entitled "Astyanax, an Epic Romance of Ilion, Atlantis, and Amaraca." It is a work upon which he has bestowed much labor during a period of twenty years.

A book that belongs in the historical class, although concerned with affairs not usually treated as subjects for that sort of literature, is Henry Clews' "Fifty Years in Wall Street," issued by the Irving Publishing Company. It is a work of over 1,000 pages, bringing the narrative up to the panic of 1907, and is replete with interest, especially to those who are accustomed to follow the concerns of the financial world.

Despite the fact that so many books have been published dealing with the history of New York City, the subject has by no means been exhausted and the work which Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer has just completed, entitled "History of the City of New York," approaches the matter from many new points of view, naturally proceeding from her work as an able critic of art and architecture. The book is from the press of the MacMillans. John R. Spears has published, through the Harpers, a "History of the United States Navy," which is a condensation of his larger work on the subject. This makes but a single volume and is a readable and comprehensive account of the origin, growth and recent development of the American Navy.

It is only necessary to recall a few such typical episodes in American History as the hanging of the lantern from the belfry of the Old North Church by Paul Revere before he took his famous ride, and the thanksgiving services in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, attended by President Washington and Congress after the inauguration of the new government in 1789, to realize how



conspicuous a part religious edifices have played in the annals of the nation, especially in the history of the Colonies. Under the title, "Historic Churches of America," Mrs. Nellie Uner Wallington reviews the stories of the various ecclesiastical monuments famous for their connection with important events, and left behind them by men of varying faiths and culture. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in an introductory note, reminds us the the local history of America is closely identified with the history of religion on our soil. It is interesting to notice that the Island of Porto Rico, the latest addition to our territory, unless the Philipines be so-called, contains relics believed to be the oldest monuments of Christianity on our soil.

Another work pertaining to ecclesiastical history in America the second edition of Wilkin Updike's "History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, R. I., including a History of Other Episcopal Churches in the State." The work was originally published in 1847, but had become a bibliographical rarity, and is now issued in three volumes, with copious explanatory notes, portraits and views, and brings the subject up to date.

Still another volume on ecclesiastical history is that of Henry Longan Stuart, entitled "Weeping Cross, An Unworldly Story." It is published by Doubleday, Page & Company. In it the author, who is a Roman Catholic, seeks to defend the Jesuit priests of Colonial days from the charge of inciting Indians to kill and burn among the Puritan settlements.

And so it seems that even in the making of books on our history there is no end.

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## A STATE HISTORICAL MUSEUM.

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BY DR. JOHN M. CLARKE, DIRECTOR NEW YORK STATE  
MUSEUM, ALBANY.

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I have responded with pleasure to this invitation to briefly address the State Historical Association. The theme of this discourse will, I am confident, enlist intelligent co-operation from this or any body of sons of the commonwealth. There seems no particular or weighty argument for my appearance here to argue on behalf of the creation of an historical museum, to be maintained by the people of the State as a portrayal of the successive stages of their past cultures. If the proposition can be stated rationally and with force there is no reason why, in a community of advanced intellectual attainment, it should not be able to stand alone and take on tangible form. It cannot stand on sentiment; it cannot subsist on good will or survive on applause. Yet, to no body of citizens can I address myself on this subject with better assurance of appreciative sympathy and action than to this association, whose very desire for the conservation of our history has brought it into existence.

As I concisely outline the formulated plan for a State Historical Museum, it is proper that you should know something of the throes of its birth. It is quite possible that you may demand why the director of the State Museum whose functions are generally assumed to be the prosecution of scientific labors only, should appear as chief advocate and chief engineer of this plan. You will permit me to explain the latter first so that my further remarks may have a better justification.

The general university law, as revised and enacted in 1904, specifies the scope of the State Museum in the following terms (Section 22): "All scientific specimens and collections, works of art, objects of historic interest and similar property appropriate to a general museum, if owned by the State and not placed in

other custody by a specific law, shall constitute the State Museum."

Now the State Museum has had a continued existence since 1843, and while it was organized chiefly to preserve the scientific materials which had been brought together by the Natural History Survey of the preceding decade, an early ruling of the Board of Regents who have been its trustees from the beginning, provided for the acquisition of "antiquarian" material — and some of the most elaborate publications issued in the early reports of the institution were devoted to the study of aboriginal culture and remains. The State Museum thus at the beginning of its career became a depository of historical objects. It may be true that in the growing zeal for exploiting the more purely scientific and material resources of the State that particular function was lost sight of or fell into abeyance and it was never defined by statute as a legitimate field of the Museum's activities until the enactment of the law referred to. The statutes of the State, moreover, nowhere make any other provision for the erection of an historical museum.

They do make provision for the acquisition and preservation of historical records, but these only in the form of documents, written or printed, of which the State Library has now become a vast treasure house. The Bureau of Military Statistics pertaining to the Department of the Adjutant-General has brought together by voluntary co-operation an extensive store of military relics, in very large part memorials of the Civil War; the State Historian is authorized by law to "collect, collate, compile, edit and prepare for publication all official records, memoranda and data relative to the colonial wars, War of the Revolution, War of 1812, Mexican War and War of the Rebellion, together with all official records, memoranda and statistics affecting the relations between this Commonwealth and foreign powers, between this State and other States and between this State and the United States." He is not empowered to acquire other historical materials than the data above referred to, nor has he authority of law or appropriations to acquire historical "objects" as distinguished from records, memoranda and data. There is thus no department of the State which has adequate authority, breadth of scope and available funds for acquiring and conserving "ob-

jects" of historical importance, in distinction from historical "documents," except the Education Department through the agency of the State Museum.

The authority for such an organization then rests wholly with the Commissioner of Education and the Regents of the University. I am free to confess that the statutory imposition of a function upon the office I hold, though it might continue to be regarded as wholly permissive and so ignored, seemed to me clearly enough the declaration of an intention on the part of the Legislature of the State that such an historical museum should exist and that it was evidently a duty of this office to develop it, rationally and scientifically, subject to the approbation of the controlling board of the State Museum. A sense of duty under the statute has been, however, only a primary impulse in this undertaking. Fortunately it has been supplemented by a profound interest in and some acquaintance with the successful historical museums of the world and by the earnest conviction that New York as a State with the diversity of her successive cultures should no longer defer the conservation of the relics of these phases of her development. Recognizing the fact, therefore, that here lay in the hands of the Education Department the sole statutory authority for the initiation of an historical museum, the outline of a plan for its incorporation was submitted to the Commissioner of Education and the Board of Regents, and received therefrom unqualified approbation, supplemented by an enacting clause authorizing the director of the Museum to proceed with the execution of the proposition. The general plan was then set forth in a circular to the public, to members of historical societies and intelligent citizens of all communities in the State. Doubtless this circular has been in the hands of all of you — it certainly was intended that it should reach every member of this association whose post-office address could be obtained.

The proposition evoked a widespread public interest. From a thousand personal responses came no dissenting or dissuasive voice. From very many came helpful suggestions and offers of co-operation. The field was fair. Though in many intellectual centers of the State local interest has long been concerned in the preservation of historical relics more specially associated with the particular locality involved, the State's plan was drawn on broader



lines, which, it was recognized, the local society could not well follow. Thus no suggestion of competition between the local historical museums and the proposed State Museum could arise. To the possibility of affiliation between such organizations, however, I desire to again make brief reference.

Let me restate here the essential plan for the State Historical Museum, which is, of course, subject to such modifications as conditions, now and future, may require. As indicative of the importance of this project it was said that "the State has shown an appreciative spirit and most laudable activity in the acquisition and protection of places with historic associations. With or without volunteer private co-operation it has taken over historic property, marked with commemorative monuments sites of momentous and critical events in its history, raised imposing memorials on its battlefields and statues to its distinguished sons. The spirit which has inspired these results has been born and nursed into expression by a multitude of patriotic societies, some of general, others of more local scope. But further than this in the conservation of its historic materials the State has not gone. It has left almost wholly to local civic associations the preservation of the relics of its history. There is scarcely an intelligent community in the State which has not an historical society engaged not merely in retelling the often half-remembered story of local events, but in conserving the materials associated with the early stages of its progress and the personal careers of its distinguished citizens.

"It would be impossible to estimate the value of the collections of such societies to the student of New York history and the edification, satisfaction and pride with which these are contemplated by the citizens of this State. But these results have been achieved alone by private organizations moved by the same proper spirit which may justly require of the State that it conserve the monuments of its own cultures.

"New York has behind it three hundred years of successive cultures and back of that the cultures of the Aborigines. Its history is both long and varied.

"It is with the relics of the different occupations and settlements rather than with their critical events that an historical

museum should concern itself. Such collections of historical objects should depict in the truest and most realistic fashion the modes and means of living in each successive phase of culture, should reproduce by proper association a faithful picture of domestic life and habitudes. The educational value of such demonstrative collections would be of high quality and an essential supplement to the training of the schools."

Thereupon the following plan for an historical museum was outlined: "There is a vast difference between a miscellaneous assortment of historical objects, each with only its individual story to tell or its personal associations to invite attention, and an historical museum scientifically arranged with its objects all brought into their proper historic perspective. There are thousands of valuable historical relics in local collections of the State, which must by the very nature of the conditions under which they are brought together be left to tell their story as best they can by themselves. There is but one method, however, in which such objects can be made adequately to present their full significance and that is the method of proper association. As an outline of what a state historical collection should be the following suggestions are made.

"In general a portrayal of the successive or contemporaneous cultures in this State by a reproduction of the modes of life in the various phases of our civilization. For such purposes a series of rooms assigned to the various cultures would display:

"*First.*—The conditions and accompaniments of the life of the Aborigines. Such display should present the reconstruction of an Indian lodge furnished with the utensils of daily life and exemplify their mode of use—the squaw at the hand-mill, the potter molding clay vessels and pipes, the brooch-maker and the arrow-maker with their equipments.

"*Second.*—The domestic life of the Dutch culture, represented by one or two rooms, say a living room and kitchen equipped with the utensils and materials appropriate to the period of the Dutch settlement.

"*Third.*—Some portrayal of the German culture of the Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk valleys—a culture which though transient left a recognizable impress on the community; and of

"*Fourth.*— The Huguenot settlements of Ulster county and the lower Hudson.

"*Fifth.*— Rooms equipped with the furnishings of the English colonial pre-Revolutionary period before the invasion of the French influence.

"*Sixth.*—An adequate representation of life on the frontier of central western New York before the extinction of the Indian land titles and the Massachusetts claims.

"A collection carefully co-ordinated along these lines would naturally be supplemented by other materials which could not be placed in such associations, but would help to complete the portrayal of past cultures."

This is then the plan in brief, but to this I would add that the ideal museum of history would be a museum of civilization, one in which the progress of man could be read in his works; his philosophies and his inductions expressed in the tangible effects of the causes which have inspired them.

On the opening page of the History of Civilization, Buckle has said that "the unfortunate peculiarity of the history of man is that though the separate parts have been examined with considerable ability hardly anyone has attempted to combine them into a whole and ascertained the way in which they are connected with each other." By the method of proper association which we should have to practice in an undertaking of this scope it is, I believe, quite as feasible to produce an effective portrayal of the history of civilization within the bounds of this Commonwealth in an assemblage of its material expressions and accessories as to tell this story on the pages of a printed book.

It has been my experience for years to be concerned with the scientific museums of the world with many of which I may have a somewhat close acquaintance. New York State will have in the near future with the completion of its new quarters a scientific museum of which I am confident she need not be ashamed. But I am quite ready to admit that in the historical museums of Europe, executed along such lines as those I have indicated, I have found a livelier and more human interest, an insinuating fascination and educational uplift to which I have been less receptive in museums of science. And this must be granted:



that such a museum well executed cannot fail to appeal to the educational instinct of a people with even comparatively brief history back of it.

There are obstacles in the way of executing this project; there are conditions which must be turned from neutral or indifferent to positive and helpful. There are also happily favorable circumstances which must be utilized to the utmost. The obstacles require a passing word. When this project was launched, it was not without the conviction that I was inviting trouble. I have found some and expect plenty more. I am not afraid of trouble or work and have survived too many dry seasons in Albany to be apprehensive of the future. I have also the profoundest conviction of and most sincere repose in the eventual response of New York's legislators to every reasonable appeal on behalf of State pride and intellectual progress. But as I have said, this museum, depicting the historical phases of our culture, cannot subsist on approbation only; it must have help. If it can gain substantial support from our appropriations it can acquire substantial volunteer support from private citizens. Without the former it can hardly hope for the latter, but a recognition of the enterprise by the Legislature will mean, I am sure, its successful issue. Some very gracious offers of gratuitous gifts have come to us, but the State of New York must steadfastly decline to be satisfied with less than the best and the sponsors for the historical museum should never allow it to degenerate into an assortment of miscellaneous junk.

I hope it may be our pleasure to greet you here in Albany a year from now, but do not expect to see an historical museum in full blast on your return. Growth will be slow, but given a wholesome nucleus and growth will proceed by gravitation. Art is long and in the public service patience is longer. It is a noteworthy and somewhat regrettable fact that throughout all nations, the privately endowed museum of science, history, and even of art is usually more generously provided for than those supported by government, and yet I doubt if any member of a legislative body in this State would deny his individual pride in the history of the State.

With assurance of needed support, tacit and dormant interest throughout the public can easily be aroused to active co-operation. It needs but an earnest and wise engineer. In all else I see but favorable conditions. We do not, indeed, have to make a beginning. The State's collections in one department of this assemblage of material are already extensive and unsurpassed. I have reference to our collections representing the Aboriginal cultures, especially those of the Iroquois Confederacy. In this field we have in latter years progressed with assiduity and with most fruitful results. This has always been the legitimate archæological branch of our scientific work. The State Museum has official custodianship of the archives of the Five Nations and of the Six Nations, its director is the designated successor of the ancient wampum keeper of the Iroquois. Its archæologist is a keen and intelligent Seneca Indian. It has the good will of all the tribes. The civilization of the Iroquois Confederacy is one of almost unique distinction, one which has yet to receive a full illumination from the philosophic historian. It is indeed a brilliant example of that form of civilization which the most philosophic of all historians vainly sought as uncontaminated and uninfluenced by outside influences. An indigenous product, a response to a fertile soil and auspicious skies, it attained to the evolution of democratic polity of noteworthy excellence with the accompaniment of individual intellectual acquisitions untrammelled by any artificial influences beyond its natural surroundings. In the rise, the culmination and the accelerated decline of this native New York product lies a field of most exceptional attraction to the student, underestimated, I fear, by those whose daily contact with the tattered remnants of the great democracy gives them only a feeble hold on the true significance of this expiring culture. We shall go as far as reasonable into the realistic portrayal of Indian life and customs, so far, I hope, even, as the reproduction of certain important ceremonials of which there remain to-day but stories and legends. New York can well afford to keep this romantic period of its history before the eye and transmit it with reasonable fullness and force to posterity.

Our museums, whatever their character, must be made to speak. We are seeking this objective in our scientific museums by show-

ing the development of the crude natural product through all its phases into the finished state, and not this alone, but also the circumstances pertaining to the historical development of every industry that is based on natural products. And likewise an historical museum can be made to tell an interesting and living story where a text-book is drowsy.

I desire to say a further word concerning the relation of a State Historical Museum to the museums of local historical societies. In the goodly number of active historical societies in the State, some (like the New York Historical Society and the Long Island Historical Society) are venerable bodies with long records of high achievement, and are substantially supported by large memberships. None, however, has, I believe, attempted the institution of historical collections on the basis of the plans here outlined.

Such larger societies as those indicated are of broader than local scope and know indeed no limits in their concern for American history. But the greater number of historical societies in the State are small local organizations brought together for the laudable purpose of conserving the history and historical relics of the communities where they stand. While I believe that the method of association of culture relics as indicated is that most effective in its educational value, I am also convinced that articles of peculiar local association will do the most good in the localities to which they pertain and in the majority of cases should not be dissociated therefrom even for the purpose of putting them in a more logical setting. The history of the single momentous event or succession of events in one community, the relics of the momentous individuals belong by themselves, rather more effectively than in a general scheme of culture pictures. There can be, therefore, no possible antagonism between the objectives of the local society and the State Museum. On the other hand I believe the State organization can eventually develop a plan of co-operation between all the museums which may be mutually helpful.

I venture to say a further word in regard to the relation of the New York State Historical Association to the proposed museum. Your original articles of incorporation seem to restrict your active operations to the northeastern counties, certainly an apparently



unfortunate restriction in view of the Association's title, but your charter evidently broadens the scope of your interest which should properly be bounded only by the confines of the State.

I deem it rather unfortunate that a society of this function, scope and title should not be recognized as having some direct public responsibility, should not seek to acquire a position which would assure its standing as the State's historical society, with right to represent the State in matters of historical import, to co-operate with the State Historian and the director of the State Museum and to make an annual report to the Legislature embodying its activities and its historical papers. With such a position in the public service the State Historical Museum would become the natural depository of the historical collections of this association at the center of government rather than at a remote spot like Caldwell on Lake George, and it would be in the natural order of development that the maintenance of this museum would become intimately related to the welfare of the society and its custodianship. At all events the association, enjoying some such relation to the public service as the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, would by virtue of its quasi-legal standing be brought into very effective connection with the upbuilding of this historical museum.

## THE IROQUOIS WAMPUMS.

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By ARTHUR C. PARKER.

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A nation is measured among nations both by its material culture and by the impression which it is able to make upon the nations which come in contact with it. Judged by these standards the Iroquois Indians of the State of New York should have a high place not only among the great barbaric nations of the world but also among nations of a higher ethnic culture. It would be a most interesting thing to review the history of the Iroquois, whose unique career and successful struggle for their national identity and the retention of their original territories in the Empire State have excited the wonder of historians and anthropologists. Our object now, however, is to call attention briefly to one of the features of an Iroquois system which was an important one not only to the Indians, but also played an important part in the history and development of the colonies of New York and New England. I speak of wampum. Wampum had several uses, the principal ones being for decoration, for a medium of exchange, for ceremonial message and name strings, for seals of important national summons and for weaving belts. Wampum woven in emblematic figures symbolized important laws, treaties and traditions of the Iroquois League. The Iroquois themselves made little wampum, leaving the laborious task for their Algonquin slaves on the coast, who paid a heavy annual tribute as the price of peace and protection.

The scarcity of gold and silver specie in the early colonies made it necessary for the whites to use the Indians' wampum money, and so generally was it used that it was received as legal tender, in amounts of less than forty shillings, for instance, in Massachusetts. (Massachusetts colony, Act of 1648.) In New York City wampum was used for small money as late as 1712, when six stivers of wampum was the ferry fare from New York to

Brooklyn. With all due respect to the great Commoner of Nebraska, the sixteen to one monetary ratio and the free and unlimited coinage idea had its origin more than two hundred years before his advent. The Dutch burghers along the coast set up manufactories and with their steel tools and ready genius turned out wampum by the bushel, forgetting to polish most of it and even attempting to substitute porcelain for shell as the material for wampum beads. This sudden influx of cheap money precipitated a rapid depreciation of wampum that produced a panic far more serious to the budding colonies than the much-discussed panic of 1908 in the full-grown country. The panic to which I refer was that of 1641. William Kieft was Governor of New Netherlands, and the grave peril induced him to present the following bill to his council:

*"Whereas, Very bad wampum is at present circulating here and payments made in nothing but rough unpolished stuff which is brought hither from other places, where it is 50 per cent cheaper than it is paid out here, and the good, polished wampum, commonly called Manhattan Wampum is wholly put out of sight or exported, which tends to the express ruin and destruction of this Country; In order to provide in time therefore, We do, therefore, for the public good Interdict and Forbid all persons . . . to receive in payment or to pay out any unpolished wampum during the next month of May, except that at Five for one Stiver, and that strung, and then after that, Six beads for one Stiver.*

*"Whosoever shall be found to have acted contrary hereunto, shall provisionally forfeit the wampum which he paid out and ten Guilders to the poor, and both payer and payee are alike liable. The well-polished wampum shall remain at its price as before, to wit, Four to one Stiver, provided that it be strung."*

The "express ruin and destruction" of the country clause no doubt deeply impressed the legislators, for after a short deliberation they passed the law,—and the country was saved. The sixteen to one ratio was between wampum and beaver skins,—sixteen beads of wampum, if strung, equaling one beaver skin in the Wall Street market.



For more than two centuries the Iroquois Indians of the State of New York have used wampum belts as the memorials of their laws and treaties. The figures are all emblematical of certain things, but the belt itself serves only to remind the people of the tradition or law which is held in the minds of the chiefs. All the important League belts were held by the Onondaga chiefs, who were known as the Ho-di-seh-na-geh-teh of the League. The several nations also have belts of tribal and national import and individuals kept them as personal property. Of the several League belts exhibited in the case before us three are of particular interest. The Presedential belt of To-ta-da-ho, the Wing or Dust Fan belt and the Hiawatha belt. The first two belts are the widest belts known and are the property of the State; the last-named commemorates the founding of the League and the constitution of Hiawatha, and is now the property of Hon. John Boyd Thacher, of Albany. And, by the way, among the Indians, Hiawatha, although the best known of all Indian characters, is really a personage of secondary importance. The Iroquois honor above all their heroes, Da-ga-ne-we-da, the energetic Mohawk through whose activity and tireless labors the League was effected, though upon the principles of Hai-o-wen-tha (Hiawatha). Other notable belts are the Cornplanter belt fragment, which with his tomahawk in the State Museum are the only relics of the distinguished chief that remain; the womens' nomination belt, which calls to mind that with the Iroquois women rested the sole power of nominating the civil officers of the League; the Doorkeeper's belt, sometimes called the Parker belt, from Gen. Ely S. Parker, who last held it as the Keeper of the Western Door of the Iroquois League, and the Red Jacket belt. In the brief space of five minutes it is not possible to mention the many interesting facts which cluster about the belts here exhibited. One or two matters of interest, however, must not be passed by.

The Iroquois in their national and League councils in 1898 passed an act transferring their historic record belts into the keeping of the University of the State of New York and specifically the State Museum. The act was a most appropriate one, for what could be more fitting than that the modern Empire State care for the records of the great people who held their

empire here before us. Nearly ten years later, on January 22, 1908, the Grand Chief of the Onondagas, also the President of the League, wishing to further secure the belts, signed a document making the director of the State Museum the official custodian of the wampums and investing him with the title, Ho-sa-na-ga-da (Ho-seh-na-geh-teh), Name Bearer, the ancient title of the wampum keepers.

# THE FUNCTION OF STATE HISTORIAN OF NEW YORK.

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BY VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, STATE HISTORIAN.

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Mr. President, Members of the New York State Historical Association, Ladies and Gentlemen.— Your program committee extended a very generous invitation to me several months ago to participate in your proceedings at this meeting, and they requested me to “talk shop.” Their cordiality and my opportunity formed a speedy coalition. I am here, therefore, to address you concerning “The Function of State Historian of New York.” That there is misapprehension of the function of this department of the State government cannot be denied. Hence I rejoice in this opportunity of defining what it is, and what it is not. I shall enlarge also upon a neglected function, which should interest immensely all investigators within and without this State, whether historians, economists, sociologists, exponents of political science, or members of the legal profession.

The office of State Historian of New York is a distinct State department, whose executive officer is nominated and appointed by the Governor “by and with the advice and consent of the Senate” for a term of four years. This department was created by statute at the 118th session of the Legislature, as chapter 393 of the Laws of 1895. The act reads as follows:

## “CHAPTER 393 \*

AN ACT to provide for the appointment of a State historian and for the compilation of the military and naval records of the State.

Became a law April 23, 1895, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

*The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:*

Section 1. *Appointment and duties of state historian.* The governor shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, a State

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\* Laws of 1895, Vol. I, p. 236.



historian, whose duty it shall be to collect, collate, compile, edit and prepare for publication all official records, memoranda and data relative to the colonial wars, war of the revolution, war of eighteen hundred and twelve, Mexican war, and war of the rebellion, together with all official records, memoranda and statistics affecting the relations between this commonwealth and foreign powers, between this State and other States and between this State and the United States.

§ 2. *Term and compensation.*—*Stenographer.* Said appointment is to continue for a period of four years from the date thereof. Said historian shall receive for his services the sum of four thousand five hundred dollars per annum, which shall include all necessary traveling expenses, and he shall have power to employ a stenographer, whose compensation shall not exceed one thousand dollars per year.

§ 3. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

§ 4. This act shall take effect immediately."

The second section of this act was amended at the 123d session of the Legislature, as chapter 63 of the Laws of 1900, and the amendment provided by substitution for the employment of a chief clerk, but in no other way altered the original act of 1895. The text of the amendment is as follows:

#### "CHAPTER 63.\*

AN ACT to amend section two of chapter three hundred and ninety-three of the laws of eighteen hundred and ninety-five, entitled 'An act to provide for the appointment of a state historian and for the compilation of the military records of the state.'

Became a law, March 1, 1900, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

*The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:*

Section 1. *Act amended.* Section two of chapter three hundred and ninety-three of the laws of eighteen hundred and ninety-five, entitled 'An act to provide for the appointment of a state historian and for the compilation of the military and naval records of the state,' is hereby amended to read as follows:

§ 2. *State historian, appointment, salary, etc.* Said appointment is to continue for a period of four years from the date thereof. Said historian shall receive for his services the sum of four thousand five hundred dollars per annum, which shall include all necessary traveling expenses, and he shall have the power to employ a chief clerk, whose compensation shall not exceed fifteen hundred dollars per year.

§ 2. This act shall take effect immediately."

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\* Laws of 1900, Vol. I, p 122

As defined by the act, the function of State Historian is "to collect, collate, compile, edit and prepare for publication all official records, memoranda and data relative to the colonial wars, war of the revolution, war of eighteen hundred and twelve, Mexican war, and war of the rebellion, together with all official records, memoranda and statistics affecting the relations between this commonwealth and foreign powers, between this State and other States and between this State and the United States." That presages a great task, even if the meaning in spots rests in *penumbra*. But it is clearly evident that only "official records" are meant, and that publication, under this act, of bodies of manuscripts owned by descendants of warriors or statesmen is precluded, if the said manuscripts cannot pass muster as "official records."

Many persons err in believing that the department's function is the compilation of the contemporary history of the State; some evince an idea that it is rich in the possession of valuable archives, and yet others seem to consider it a bureau of genealogical research or a place where any citizen's historical nuts are cracked. Perhaps these notions are fallacies of equivocation, for not many persons could define the designation of "State Historian." It has been a custom of the department, even in the absence of statutory prescription, to answer many queries propounded by correspondents from anywhere, and often several hours per day are devoted to this kind of work. But the point is this — it is not obligatory, nor can it be permitted to interfere with the specific obligations of documentation. The office is not equipped with a genealogical or historical library, and most queries necessitate a time-consuming journey to the New York State Library or the State departments. Hence untechnical queries of a purely genealogical or other character are generally referred to the departments which are equipped with literature, manuscripts and clerks for that kind of work. The State Historian's staff consists of a chief clerk, an expert copyist and a page, while the total appropriation for the fiscal year, which began on October 1st, is \$8,334.\*

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\* Divided as follows — State Historian, \$4,500; chief clerk, \$1,500; expert copyist, \$1,200; page, \$384; office expenses, \$750.

What personal equipment should the State Historian have, in view of his obligations? That is a frank question and shall have a frank answer. He should be intensely interested in his work, and not consider his post as a sinecure. He must have good eyes, good health, capacity for arduous toil by day or by night, and possess administrative ability. He should be familiar with the best canons of historical documentation, criticism and systematization, and have personal experience in deciphering and editing old manuscripts. He should hold intercourse with historical scholars and enjoy their sympathetic co-operation. He should be a bibliographer, conversant with the American historical literature of the past, and be abreast of the constructive historical and archival work of his own time. This is not a chimerical definition and, because it is not, enjoins humility and striving in the incumbent.

On July 24, 1907, the present State Historian was commissioned, and he filed his oath of office with the Secretary of State on the 30th day of that month. He found the position of typewriter-stenographer vacant, and that was a fortunate circumstance. Conventional typewriter-stenographers are not competent for the kind of work which insures accuracy in documentation. He, therefore, was unsuccessful in procuring through the ordinary channels of the State Civil Service a person who could fulfil the requirements of former experience and certification by a known specialist. For seven months the State Historian was his own copyist, during which time, apart from other duties, he copied with pen over 500 folios of documents written during the years 1668 to 1673. Competent assistance, however, was imperative to progress. There were, indeed, those who thought they could do the work, but who were unable to stand the tests or qualify in accordance with the conditions. Finally, through the good offices of his friend, Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, and under rule 8, section 10, of the State Civil Service Rules, he appointed as expert copyist, a young man who had been engaged about eight years in the said Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. The correct transcription of old manuscripts is a science. The system or form of handwriting in the early records varies



with every generation. The numerous abbreviations of the early scribes were adopted by the first typographers, and many of these conventionalities persisted in manuscripts beyond the seventeenth century, and a few of them are yet in use to this day.\*

It will interest you, no doubt, to learn what volumes are being prepared for publication. A typewritten index to the "Public Papers of George Clinton," embracing about 3,000 folios, which had been prepared before the present incumbency, is in course of severe revamping. An extensive series has been begun, the first volume of which covers the years 1668 to 1673, entitled, "Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York," accompanied by collateral and illustrative documents, such as orders, warrants, letters, proclamations, commissions, etc. The series, here begun, when completed will prove to be among the largest and best ever undertaken for the Colonial period. Another volume in advanced state of preparation is the "Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, 1778-1781, Albany Sessions." Quite recently the copying for yet another volume was begun. It is the "Minutes of the Committee of the City and County of Albany," otherwise the Committee of Safety, embracing the years 1775 to 1778. In addition to the works mentioned, I expect to plan at the earliest opportunity another series of unusual worth — the Assembly Papers, which begin with the year of the constitutional erection of the State, in 1777. They are scattered and it will require patience and care to co-ordinate them for publication.

In all these works we seek the strictest accuracy of text in copy and in print that human endeavor can achieve. Every bit of copy and printer's proof will be read by me personally with the *original* manuscripts; it is no sinecure, but it is as it should be. As to editorial apparatus, I may say, I do not believe in flamboyant introductions, scare headings, irrelevant footnotes, nor history peppered with pyrotechnics; neither am I in accord with those who abjure all form and comeliness of diction. In an interview with the editor of a local newspaper of New York, I stated my ideals in the following words:

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\* For a popular handbook see Thoyts, *How to decipher and study old documents*. Second edition. London, 1903.

"The State of New York has been generous in appropriations to aid the cause of history, but has not always been dealt with fairly, in the results returned by the recipients of her generosity, or by those who have been entrusted with the publication of her archives.

"The modern historical canons are exacting, and an editor must be able to honor them. He must reproduce faithfully all of the idiosyncracies of every letter, document or other manuscript, and be able to interpret the varying forms of handwriting, often written badly, illiterate, faded and even torn or rotten. These must be presented by typography in an orderly form, with such accompanying critical apparatus as each case may suggest or require.

"In the treatment of archives there is a triune function — preservation, co-ordination, and publication. In other words, first preserve the records against theft, fire, damp, or wanton destruction; second, when preserved properly in each department of every city, town, village and hamlet, and in the State by the State departments, the next step is co-ordination or a proper scientific classification, together with indexes as media for ready accessibility; the third stage follows naturally, because when they are properly preserved and classified, the publication is easy to an archivist.

"Let no one believe that these things are being done in the State of New York, for it is an unfortunate fact that she is far behind other States, for example, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Alabama, and Mississippi. But there is an awakening among the students of history in the State, growing out of a world-wide movement, which will bear fruitage and make for the proper administration of public archives throughout the State and under the official direction of the State."

Let me now engage your attention for the consideration of the great need of the scientific preservation and supervision of public records. As one of the seven members of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association and as State Historian, this thing is uppermost in my mind. That we in this State are singularly derelict can be shown, even if we do not stand alone as a horrible example. By comparison with European ac-

tivities and the provision in some of our own States, our State has reason to be ashamed.

In Sweden, the country is divided into several provincial depots, each in charge of a trained archivist, supervised by the Director of the National Archives, and to whom the head of each provincial depot is obliged to report at the beginning of each new year the results attained by him in his administration of the previous year. The National Archives are constituted the central authority of all the public archives of Sweden.\*

On June 17, 1891, a national society of Dutch archivists was organized at Haarlem, having for its object the promotion of a more scientific organization of archives in the nation under a unified system. That this laudable purpose might be successful, an annual meeting is held every summer at some place selected at the preceding conference. The stimuli of these meetings have worked wonders in Holland, and the good work has received hearty accord from archivists in other nations of Europe. One of the products of these assemblies was the publication in Dutch of a guide for the administration, classification and description of archives, which has since been translated and adapted for the use of German archivists.†

In Germany, in Denmark, in Belgium, in France and elsewhere trained men are at work and are receiving the aid of government. In every progressive country of Europe the centralization and proper administration of the national and provincial archives has arrested attention in official and scholarly circles. The publication of inventories, indexes, registers, calendars or other guides to the contents of archival depots is carried out extensively. The European archivists meet in international congresses and between times do progressive work.‡

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\* Article by Dr. S. Bergh on "La nouvelle Organisation des Archives de Suède," in *Le Bibliographe Moderne*, vol. XI (1907), pp. 329, 333.

† *Anleitung zum Ordnen und Beschreiben von Archiven*, von Dr. S. Muller, Dr. J. A. Feith und Dr. R. Fruin, Direktoren der Staatsarchive in Utrecht, Groningen und Middelburg. Für deutsche Archivare bearbeitet von Dr. Hans Kaiser. Leipzig, 1905.

‡ Information about the law and administration of archives in Holland is given in the *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, 1907-1908; of Belgium in the *Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique*, 1907-1908. The latter periodical chronicles also the work of the international congress, whose next séance will be held in 1910.



Time does not permit me to enlarge upon European conditions. What is the situation in the United States? Recent tendencies indicate a desire "to provide more adequately for the care of the State archives," but reveal also "the general neglect on the part of the States to make provision for the adequate supervision of the local records in the custody of the various county, city, town and other local officials."\* Only in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut is any State supervision provided over local records. The office of commissioner of public records in Massachusetts was made permanent in 1892, but much good work was performed during several years prior thereto by this officer. The Rhode Island commisisoner, since 1896, has authority to investigate any official State or local records, and also such parish and church records as he may be able to locate of extinct and active church organizations. His authority is not mandatory over officials as to preservation. The commissioner of Connecticut supervises and reports to the Governor, with recommendations. Alabama, Mississippi, West Virginia and Indiana have departments of archives and history, created and supported by legislation. Of them the late Robert T. Swan has said: "It is to be hoped that the States which have established departments of archives and history will not stop at this provision for the care of the records chiefly to be found in the custody of the State departments, but will take action to recover and care for the valuable records fast going to destruction scattered through the counties, towns, and villages."†

The Legislature of New Jersey, in 1897, established a public record commission of three persons, for inquiring "into the nature and condition of the public records \* \* \* and the several counties, townships, cities, and other municipalities." They were to report to the Governor from time to time and make recommendations.

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\* *Report of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association*, December 28, 1906, in *Annual Report*, 1906, vol. II, p. 11.

† *Summary of the Present State of Legislation of the States and Territories relative to the Custody and Supervision of the Public Records*, by the late Robert T. Swan, Commissioner of Public Records of the State of Massachusetts, in *Annual Report of Amer. Hist. Ass'n*, 1906, vol. II. I have used this report to some extent.

In 1903 the Legislature of Pennsylvania created a division of public records in connection with its State Library, and provided furthermore for the appointment, annually, of an advisory commission of public records. Good results are reported.

Maryland has a public records commission of three members, created in 1904, to examine into conditions and report thereon to the general assembly.

The Florida Legislature of 1905 created a division of public records, having jurisdiction of State and county records.

In 1905 the Legislature of Hawaii established a board of public archives, with authority to collect all public archives and arrange, classify, and inventory them. A new hall of records for their safekeeping was also provided.

Since 1905 Kansas has a discretionary provision for turning over to the Kansas Historical Society any State, county, or other official records not required to be kept otherwise by law three years after the current use of the same.

In 1906 the Legislature of Iowa provided for the centralization of "all the original public documents, papers, letters, records and other official manuscripts of the State executive and administrative departments, offices or officers, councils, boards, bureaus, and commissions, ten years after the date of current use of such public documents, papers, letters, records or other official manuscripts," and provided further for an earlier transfer or a longer retention, in the discretion of an executive council.

In most of the States and territories not referred to in the foregoing memoranda, the treatment of manuscript records is heterogeneous. State papers are in the custody of a Secretary of State, or heads of departments, or partly allotted to a State library or some historical society; court records are under the jurisdiction of court clerks; county records are deposited with county clerks; and city, town and local records with various local officers. There is no State supervision for their care and preservation, and where statutory provision has been made for accessibility and use, it pertains to specific kinds of records only, such as deeds, wills, court records, and similar papers consulted by the legal profession; or to legislative papers desired by legislators. In a few States a sop is thrown to historical commissions, with the function

of collecting historical data, the compilation of State gazetteers, military rosters, or publication of certain archives, and in yet other States the historical interest is confined to small appropriations to some historical society in the State. New York and Maine are the only States which have an official known as State Historian. It is a regrettable fact that States which appropriate funds most liberally toward less urgent needs, exhibit a singular penury toward the safeguarding of their public records—the prime sources of their administrative, social, and political history.\*

In 1901 the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association published its first report, and the bulk of it was a "Report on the Archives and Public Records of the State of New York and of New York City," by Dr. Herbert L. Osgood, Professor of History in Columbia University.† A pioneer effort under private auspices, it has been awarded the highest praise, and it has served many a forlorn student as a guide. Admittedly it is far from complete for the State. It says to the State and the divisions thereof: "Here is the way, walk ye in it." This report showed that records were found in frame buildings used for business purposes, such as feed stores, glove factories, barber shops, and furniture stores, and that papers were kept in cellars and mildewed, in wooden cases, in wooden desks, loose in packing boxes, in lofts and garrets, and in sheds with household rubbish. The report declares that in two towns of Onondaga County the masses of stored manuscripts were deliberately burned because they were considered a useless burden. Now, the records are the property of the people, and as such are legally and theoretically accessible to all. Professor Osgood rightly points out that New York has never legislated for the supervision and control of the work of these local records, whose constituted guardians generally know or care little about the older records, removed from the daily

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\* For a summary of "What other States have done for their History," see *Publications* of the Arkansas Historical Association, vol. I (1906), pp. 28, ff. It rather underestimates what has been done and is now being done in the purely historical line.

† In *Annual Report* of Amer. Hist. Ass'n, 1900, vol. II (Washington, 1901), pp. 67–250. Also issued separately with its own title-page and covers.



routine of their offices. He says: "The older records, therefore, have not only been allowed to fall into neglect and to remain practically inaccessible to inquirers, but even precautions against loss or damage through fire or other accident, change of officials, change in the location of offices, lending of records, and even positive theft have not always been taken."\*

We are cognizant of cases of wanton destruction, of "borrowed" records, of papers lost by theft or through carelessness. A few may be mentioned. A number of the early volumes of New York City Deeds (conveyances, mortgages, etc.), are missing from the Register's Office. A correspondent of ours was recently informed "that several volumes disappeared during the incumbency of the last Register, while the office was at 160 Nassau street, after the old Hall of Records had been razed and before the new building was ready for occupancy." You recall, no doubt, the return this summer to the City of New York of a volume of the "Minutes of the Executive Boards of the Burgomasters of New Amsterdam," and notarial records of Walewyn van der Veen, found among the effects of the late Berthold Fernow.†

About five years ago a bookseller, now of Peekskill, but then of New York City, offered in his catalogue for \$500 the following item:

"Rough Minutes of the Board of Common Council, 1809 to 1831, and of the Board of Aldermen, 1831 to 1847. Bound in 61 volumes of varying thickness, nearly folio in form. These are the original manuscript minutes of these two branches of the City Government, only a portion of which have ever been printed. It will be observed that the important periods of the War of 1812, and the Mexican War, are covered."

As soon as I saw the item in the catalogue, I recognized that this was, indeed, a body of most valuable official manuscripts, to which my attention had been directed several years before, during

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\* Osgood's Report, p. 3, of the separate issue.

† They were printed in the second volume of *Minutes of the Orphanmasters Court of New Amsterdam*, translated by B. Fernow, published at New York, by Francis P. Harper, in 1907. Query: Were they "borrowed" and by what authority, and when? A digest of the notarial records of Walewyn van der Veen had actually appeared in the *Year Book of the Holland Society of New York*, 1900, pp. 110-203.

a visit to the City Hall of New York. I at once suggested that the item should be brought to the attention of the Hon. Seth Low, then mayor, which was actually done. Mayor Low turned the case over to his corporation counsel, Mr. George L. Rives, who made the usual inquiries prior to an execution for a replevin. The bookseller, in his next catalogue, doubled the asking price to \$1,000, and added these words to his note: "These were a part of the Archives of the City of New York till some one with ample authority sold them to a junk dealer for old paper, and I happening to find them in his possession in process of being packed for the paper mill, they were thus rescued from oblivion. Some interested person called the city officials' attention to the fact that this 'rubbish' had value above old paper price, and the 'junker' was asked by the City Representatives who interviewed him why he 'did not know enough to send them to the paper mills and have done with them?' With too little sense to buy them back and place them where they belong and thus cover their ignorance, an attempt has been made to place me in a false position, because I had sufficient intelligence at command to be able to discern gold from Dutch metal. I can give a clear title to these records, and now offer them for sale at just twice the price they were originally advertised at by me."

Is not the situation shameful? Can you contemplate it without pangs of sorrow? Something ought to be done by the State with alacrity to remedy its continuance. The administration of this work should be put into competent hands, provided with sufficient legal authority and the necessary means for carrying out the work. It matters not to me whether this added burden of responsible work is placed upon my shoulders, or whether others are charged with it. The main thing is, *get the work going!* It is the concern of every serious investigator in the State and without the State. It is a duty which the State owes to itself now and to the generations yet unborn. I have received during my administration many letters pointing out the need of supervision from the most reputable sources, among these I may mention: Hon. Andrew D. White, former president of Cornell University; Dr. John H. Finley, president of the College of the City of New York; Dr. Herbert L. Osgood, of Columbia University; Professor

Charles H. Hull, of Cornell University; Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, director of the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution; Professors W. R. Shepherd, Charles Beard, William A. Dunning, Edwin R. Seligman, and Franklin H. Giddings, all of Columbia University, and Professor Hammond Lamont, formerly of Brown University and now editor of "The Nation." Surely these men know what they are talking about. Shall this thing be done now? Will you help it on?



## THE PATROON SYSTEM AND THE COLONY OF RENSSELAERSWYCK.

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A. J. F. VAN LAER, ARCHIVIST, N. Y. STATE LIBRARY, ALBANY.

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The flood of light which the publication of the writings of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the first patroon, has recently thrown on the history of the colony of Rensselaerswyck, makes it appropriate to present at this meeting a fresh account of the establishment and early administration of that colony, the principal settlement of which at a later day became the city of Albany.

It is well known that the colony of Rensselaerswyck was established under the provisions of the first charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, issued by the Dutch West India Company in 1629, and that this charter laid the foundation for a system of colonization which is known as the patroon system.

What were the characteristic features of this system and what was the reason for its introduction into this country?

The charter of Freedoms and Exemptions provided that directors of the West India company who within four years from the date of application to the company agreed to plant colonies in New Netherland of fifty persons upwards of fifteen years of age, should be acknowledged as "patroons;" that these patroons should have the right to take up tracts of land of indefinite size which might extend four Dutch, or about eighteen English, miles along one side of a navigable river or shore, or half that distance along both sides of a river; that these grants should be absolute with right of perpetual inheritance in the grantee and that they should carry with them the usual manorial privileges, including high, middle and low jurisdiction, power to appoint magistrates, preemptive rights and exclusive monopolies of mines, minerals, water courses, hunting, fowling, fishing and grinding. These terms were of far reaching and deep significance. By them the company

provided for the creation of enormous estates, easily reaching 100,000 acres each, which were to be centers of local government, resembling the lordships of continental Europe, ruled by officials who were appointed by the patroons and in no sense subordinate to the officers of the company. The steps which led the company to adopt this system of colonization are explained in the writings of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, which have just been published by the State Library under the title of "Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts." From these manuscripts we learn that the directors of the company were from an early day divided into two factions, one in favor of colonization, the other in favor of monopoly of the fur trade and of spoils and privateering, for which the company was originally organized. These factions were alternately in control, according as changes occurred in the board of directors, or the prospects of one or the other of the respective undertakings seemed more promising. Of the faction in favor of colonization, van Rensselaer was one of the leaders and it was during a temporary control of affairs by himself and his associates that, as commissioner of New Netherland, he committed the company to the plan of establishing farms at Manhattan, with a view of making of New Netherland an agricultural colony, where ships to Brazil and the West Indies could be supplied with grain and cattle. When matters at Manhattan did not prosper as much as was at first expected, the blame was laid on van Rensselaer and his associates, who, in order to vindicate the correctness of their views, offered to establish colonies at their own expense, provided the company would grant them certain "freedoms." A draft of a charter was submitted by them as early as March, 1628, but at once met the bitter opposition of those who saw in the project the destruction of the monopoly of the fur trade, from which they expected the principal profits. After much discussion, articles were inserted by which the patroons recognized the company's monopoly at places where it had agents, and whereby provision was made for the establishment of small colonies aside from the patroonships, and finally, June 7, 1629, the charter, in the form in which we know it, passed. Looking upon the charter in the light of this history, it appears that its provisions must be regarded not as is sometimes suggested, as tempting privileges offered to ambitious stockholders by a company anxious to colonize

its possessions, but as valuable concessions secured from an unwilling opposition by keen business men who realized the profits to be obtained from agricultural colonies and who took pains to devise such measures as would practically place them beyond the control of the company. To this end the scheme of independent lordships was admirably adopted and naturally suggested itself at a time when the administration of all rural districts in the Netherlands was organized on a similar basis. The directors of the company were never in entire accord on the question of colonization and to this must be ascribed the wavering and half-hearted policy which no sooner led them to adopt measures for the promotion of agricultural enterprise than they took steps to cripple the undertakings started. In this lack of unanimity on the part of the directors lies the secret of the obstacles put in the way of the patroons almost immediately after the granting of the first and also of the second charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which caused the failure of all the patroonships except that of Rensselaerswyck and which ultimately left the province in a condition too weak to cope with foreign aggression.

Having seen how the patroons secured their privileges, let us examine what they did to carry out their plans. The very day that the charter received its final approval, Michiel Pauw gave notice to the company that he intended to plant a colony in the neighborhood of the Connecticut River and soon after other colonies were registered by Samuel Godyn, Albert Coenraets Burgh, Samuel Bloemaert and Kiliaen van Rensselaer on the Delaware River, the Connecticut River and near Fort Orange, while Pauw registered a second colony near Hoboken, which he named Pavonia. The Freedoms and Exemptions provided that the land must be purchased from the Indians and accordingly we find van Rensselaer as early as January 12, 1630, giving instructions to Bastiaen Jansz Krol, the company's commis at Fort Orange, to buy land in the neighborhood of the Fort. Purchases were made in August, 1630, and May, 1631, of land extending along the west bank of the Hudson from a little below Coeymans to the Mohawk, and of a small tract on the east side of the river, opposite the fort. Van Rensselaer claimed that the purchases included even the soil on which the fort stood and from a casual reference



to the fact that the Indians before 1630 had been unwilling to sell, it would seem that such was actually the case. The claim was always maintained by the van Rensselaers, but steadily denied by the company and at a later day gave rise to much controversy when Director-General Stuyvesant by a high-handed measure took the principal settlement out of the colony, on the ground that it had always been understood that the land within 600 paces from the fort was reserved by the company.

The Freedoms and Exemptions required the patroons to send one-fourth of the total number of colonists the first year. As soon therefore as instructions for the purchase of land had been given, van Rensselaer turned his attention to securing the necessary number of colonists. It seems that even a dozen could not easily be found. January 16, 1630 van Rensselaer entered into a contract with Wolfert Gerritsz van Couwenhoven for the laying out of farms and the purchase of cattle about the same time he engaged five men from the neighborhood of Nykerck and three Scandinavians, who were to act either as farmers or farm laborers. All these men sailed by *de Eendracht* in March, 1630, and arrived at Manhattan toward the end of May following, six weeks before the first land was bought from the Indians.

As regards the other colonies, some beginning was made also. Pauw established his colony of Pavonia and made an agreement with van Rensselaer about dividing cattle which might be for sale at Manhattan, while Godyn, Bloemaert and Burgh entered into a partnership with van Rensselaer to work their respective colonies on joint account, three persons each to have one-fifth share of a colony and the fourth person to have the remaining two-fifth shares and the management. Owing, however, to difficulties laid in the way of the patroons by their opponents in the board of directors of the West India Company, nothing came of the colonies registered by Bloemaert and Burgh, and only Godyn's colony on Swanendacl, on the Delaware, was started. In Rensselaerswyck matters were pushed forward as fast as circumstances permitted. In 1631 and 1632, thirteen more colonists were sent and July 20, 1632, instructions were issued for the formal organization of a court of schout and schepens. Of this court, which was to have administrative as well as judicial functions, in all respects

similar to the local courts then existing in the Netherlands, Rutger Hendricksz was appointed schout. His duties were to demand and execute justice and, when the court sat as an administrative council, to preside over its deliberations. He represented the patroon and as such was to take the oath before the newly appointed director general, Wouter van Twiller, to whom the patroon sent a power of attorney. As outward sign of his dignity he wore a plumed hat and a silver-plated rapier on a baldric. The duty of the schepens was to hear complaints and to render judgment, and in administrative matters to pass resolutions in conjunction with the schout. Theoretically, they represented and were to be elected by the people, but in accordance with a common practice in the lordships in Holland at that time the first schepens were appointed by the patroon and instructed to take the oath before the schout. The schepens were five in number and as a sign of their office were presented with a black hat with a silver band. There is some doubt as to whether the first schout and schepens appointed by the patroon actually took the oath and held court; certain it is that the duties assigned to them were less of a judicial than of an administrative nature, to look after the patroon's interests. The instructions to the schout contain no rules for the guidance of the court in judicial matters, except the curious clause that all persons "who neglect the profit of their patroon" must be corrected and punished according to the laws of Holland. On the other hand very specific instructions are given for the administration of the colony, namely, to hold religious services on Sunday, to look after the laying out of the farms, the distribution of animals, the selling of farm products, the buying of venison from the Indians for purposes of trade at Manhattan and elsewhere, and finally, to make plans for the exploitation of a hill of rock crystal, the existence of which had been reported to the patroon by Peter Minuit.

What was most needed for the development of the colony, was live stock for the farms and just then a convenient opportunity presented itself to acquire these at Manhattan. Disputes had arisen between Peter Minuit and the intriguing secretary Johan van Remunde and both were summoned home to be heard, to-

gether with a number of minor officers of the company. Among the latter was Pieter Bijlvelt and from him as well as from Minuit the patroon bought the live stock and farm implements of which they had not been able to dispose before their departure. The patroon also made a valuable acquisition in the person of Gerrit de Reus, an expert farmer, who been in charge of one of the company's farms at Manhattan and who sold to van Rensselaer his share of the increase of animals to which he was entitled under his contract with the company. With these additions to the equipment, the affairs of the colony were getting well under way and the patroon was in high hopes of making of Rensselaerswyck a prosperous settlement which would soon repay him and his partners for the outlay made. In a letter of July 20, 1632, to de Laet, who had recently purchased a half interest in the share of Albert Coenraets Burgh, the optimistic patroon writes: "I take good care to avail myself of all opportunities to acquire cattle, which makes many jealous of me, but they have to stand it, as every one is free to do what is best for himself." "As to the profits on which we may count, we have various strings to our bow. The Company will have to keep at Fort Orange some 25 men, from whom, by providing them with everything, we may draw some 2500 guilders a year, and therewith pay the laborers' wages. As soon as there is a supply of grain on hand, I intend to erect a brewery to provide all New Netherland with beer, for which purpose there is already a brew kettle there, and when there is more grain, I intend also to erect a brandy distillery, as there are several brandy kettles and wood can be had for the labor." "I have also given orders to raise many hogs, which during the day can run in the woods and during the night stay home, and provided care is taken to put some meal in their drinking water they may be fat before the winter comes. Here I run somewhat ahead but before three years have elapsed I hope that we shall yearly, as surplus for ourselves and the farmers, grow over one hundred last (8,000 bushels) of grain, which will increase from year to year if it pleases the Lord."

Unfortunately, the patroon counted without thinking of opposition from the directors of the company. When Krol, then director general of New Netherlands, heard of the patroon's



arrangements for the removal of cattle to the colony, he refused to let them go without the consent of his principals. The company, reluctant to see its farms at Manhattan depleted, delayed action and only about two years later, after van Rensselaer had threatened to bring suit for damages on account of the detention of the animals, matters were referred for final decision to the director-general, Wouter van Twiller. Meanwhile the colony of Rensselaer led a precarious existence. The company refused to let the patroon send the necessary supplies in its ships and also refused to furnish him with supplies at Manhattan; it refused to let its carpenters help the colonists in building houses and, as a last misfortune, appointed as commis at Fort Orange a man by the name of Hans Jorisz Hunthum, who was inimical to the patroon and hated by the Indians, and who was the cause that the latter as a revenge for a cruelty committed to one of their chiefs slaughtered the patroon's cattle. Matters in the colony came practically to a standstill. Most of the early colonists left as soon as their three years' contract was up and, owing to the uncertainty of conditions, no new colonists were sent. Van Rensselaer lost heart and proposed to transfer his interests to the company. He drew up a secret memorial, setting forth the improvements made in Rensselaerswyck and offered to sell his colony for 6,000 pounds Flemish, or nearly \$6,000. Pauw and Godyn, in whose colonies similar conditions prevailed, did likewise and after some negotiations Pavonia was bought for 26,000 guilders, or \$10,400, and Swanendael for 15,600 guilders, or \$6,240. Nothing came of the sale of Rensselaerswyck, perhaps because the company realized that it formed a convenient source of supply for the lonely outpost of Fort Orange and would keep out the English traders who just then had made their appearance near the fort; all we know is that the following year, in 1635, the patroon wrote to van Twiller: "My colony is still intact and I am in full possession of my freedoms and determined with my confrators to carry on the work with more courage than ever before, if the colony yet exists." When this was written, Jacob Planck had already been appointed schout, to take the place of Rutger Hendricksz, who had left the colony. Colonists were engaged and animals sent and soon things began to

look more promising. "Only have patience for a short period of years;" the patroon wrote to Planck, "the Lord will bless our undertaking as we have a much better object than the company in this matter, since we seek to populate the country and in course of time by many people to propagate the teaching of the Holy Gospel, while they on the contrary, employing only a few people, seek only the profits of the fur trade." In 1636, van Rensselaer decided to equip a ship at the joint expense of himself and Gerard de Forest, and to send a large number of colonists. The ship sailed from Amsterdam on September 25, 1636, and after long delays on the English coast, arrived at New Amsterdam on March 4, 1637, having on board thirty-eight colonists and two babies that were born during the voyage. This increase in the population soon made it necessary to make more ample provisions for the administration of the colony, especially as Planck had proved himself not as efficient as the patroon should have wished, more particularly, had failed to keep van Rensselaer informed of what was happening in the colony and to send accounts. To assist Planck, the patroon sent out his cousin Arent van Curler, then, at the end of December, 1637, a youth of eighteen years of age. Planck soon after left and again it was necessary to devise other measures. An unruly spirit had begun to show itself in the colony and the need was felt for a better organization of the judicial system. The patroon cast about for a suitable person to fill the place of officer of justice, but did not succeed and therefore determined in May, 1639, to entrust judicial and administrative matters temporarily to the joint care of three commissioners, namely, Arent van Curler, Pieter Cornelisz and Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick. The last-named person was especially charged to defend the patroon's interests while van Curler was appointed secretary and bookkeeper. These three men managed the affairs of the colony for two years, in a manner by no means satisfactory to the patroon. Van Rensselaer felt that the farmers were taking advantage of him and he blamed van Schlick for not protecting his rights. "I can not find out," he says, "what service *Cornelis Theunissen* has rendered me in his capacity as my representative. If, because he is a farmer, he should side with the others, he would be no use

to me and it would be a lesson to me not to grant any of my offices or *commisen* any farms, for instead of looking out for me they would look out for themselves." Pieter Cornelisz he suspected of charging more for sawing boards than he ought to under his contract, and with van Curler he had fault to find because he consulted the council about matters in which he ought to have acted on his own authority. "You need not ask such things of the council," the patroon writes to him, "for I see that the council instead of being my council is their own council. If they act that way I shall appoint others. I am surprised that they dare call themselves an independent community, as they are altogether my servants and subjects and everyone has promised to submit himself willingly to the laws and ordinances which I made and might make." But what the patroon most disliked in van Curler was that he failed to send accounts. "Just think for yourself," he writes to him in July, 1641, "you have now received goods by four ships, besides what you have received now and then since the year 1637 when *den Calmer sleutel* sailed, and thus far I have not heard of a single settlement of accounts, nor in all that time received any books." It was evident that a firm hand was needed to set things straight. The patroon thought that he found the right person for this task in Adriaen van der Donck, a young man who had studied law at Leiden and who offered his services in 1641. Due inquiries having been made as to his moral character, for as the patroon said, "one can not always get the best to go thither," van der Donck was appointed officer of justice and sailed by *den Eyckenboom*, in May, 1641. He utterly failed to meet the patroon's expectations. The first thing he did was to disregard the patroon's instructions as to the place of his residence. Instead of living near the entrance of the settlement, where he could keep an eye on the people, he took up a farm at the extreme upper end of the colony, near the Mohawk. Then, he criticised the council and the patroon's administration and showed an overweening ambition. Finally, he was hot-headed and argued with fractious colonists instead of summoning them before the court and so failed in his principal duty. The patroon was angry; he wrote van der Donck a long treatise on his duties, which, he said, it took him the better part



of four days to compose. "That the council lacks dignity," the patroon said, "is not strange, for they never have had an able leader and I have therefore sent your honor to give them proper dignity among the people." "Your principal fault has been that you have wanted to prevail over *corler* and that you have gone ahead too independently in some matters without recognizing his proper rank, consisting not in that he is my cousin but in his representative character according to his previous instructions." "It is not proper for you and you far exceed your bounden duty in criticizing my administration and this once more on slanderous statements that I am sending informers into the country and that I place a confidence in them that is both blind and deaf." "If you have imagined that you can extort the directorship from me, you will be much deceived, for that is not the way to get it." In speaking of informers van der Donck may have had in mind Domine Megapolensis a learned and elderly minister, whom the patroon had sent over in 1642 and whom he had duly instructed to arbitrate and report disputes arising between the officers of the colony and to remind them occasionally of their duty.

Notwithstanding the urgent requests of the patroon, no accounts were forthcoming from van Curler. Conditions were getting steadily worse, for owing to the fur trading privileges granted by the second charter of Freedoms and Exemptions in 1640, traders began to flock to Rensselaerswyck and to deal with the colonists, against the ordinances of the patroon, who wished to reserve the trade to himself. To put a stop to these abuses, the patroon issued on September 5, 1643, a sort of public manifesto in which he complained of the lack of righteousness among the colonists, set forth the causes of the existing evils, proclaimed the staple right of Barren Island, ordered the erection of a fortified post to be named Rensselaers Steyn, and gave minute directions for the future management of the colony. The preparation of this elaborate document, which was issued in the form of a printed pamphlet, was, as far as evidence has been preserved, about the last act of the administration of the first patroon. In 1646, Kilian van Rensselaer died and the patroonship passed to his eldest son, Johannes van Rensselaer, over whom Wouter van

Twiller and Johan van Wely were appointed guardians. At the time of the patroon's death, neither van Curler nor van der Donck were in the colony. Van Curler was in Holland and the business management of the colony was in the hands of his secretary Antony de Hooges; van der Donck had moved to Manhattan and the place of officer of justice was temporarily filled by Nicolas Coorn, the commander of Rensselaers Steyn. The guardians of the young patroon and the late patroon's partners decided to combine the offices held by van Curler and van der Donck in one person and November 10, 1646, appointed Brant Aertsz van Slichtenhorst director of the colony. Van Slichtenhorst sailed the next year and arrived in the colony March 22, 1648. He was a man of stubborn temper, with high notions as to the patroon's prerogative and soon found himself involved in a bitter controversy with General Stuyvesant regarding the limits of jurisdiction between Fort Orange and the colony. The details of this controversy are familiar history and I shall not weary you by their narration; suffice it to say that on April 10, 1652, Stuyvesant issued a proclamation by which he declared Beverwyck to be independent of the colony and established a court of justice for the village in Fort Orange. From that day dates a new era in the history of Rensselaerswyck. Its principal settlement having been erected into a separate village, the colony, notwithstanding its enormous size, was reduced to a state of comparative insignificance and led an uneventful existence till 1665, when Richard Nicolls, the first English governor, struck a further blow at the colony by consolidating its court with that of the former village of Beverwyck, then named Albany. The future of the colony was uncertain and efforts were made by members of the van Rensselaer family residing in Holland to secure letters patent from the Duke of York. After investigation of the title to the colony, instructions were given in 1678 to Governor Andros to issue a patent for Rensselaerswyck, including the village of Beverwyck, and reserving only the ground occupied by the fort. For some reason this patent was never issued and under Andros' successor, Governor Dongan, applications for a patent were renewed. At last, November 4, 1685, letters patent were issued, erecting the colony into an English manor and creating

Kiliaen, son of Johannes van Rensselaer deceased, its first lord. Governor Dongan conceived it to be to the public interest that Albany should be detached from the colony and after procuring a release from the family for the ground of the settlement and a tract of land extending sixteen miles due northwest into the country, he issued, July 22, 1686, a city charter to Albany, thus ending for all time the disputes as to jurisdiction which from an early day had played such a prominent part in the history of the colony.



## CLOSING PHASES OF THE MANORIAL SYSTEM IN ALBANY.

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In an opinion in the official New York State Court of Appeals reports, is to be found a statement, that there were upwards of 3,000 farms held under manorial "leases" in Albany, Rensselaer and Columbia Counties — covering about 234,000 acres on the west side of the Hudson River, and about 202,000 on the east side. (9 N. Y. P. 301.)

These "Indentures" were phrased in the verbose style of legal instruments of that day and the covenants were numerous. An example is herewith exhibited: "It is a lease, dated Jan. 21, 1795, by Stephen Van Rensselaer to Charles Tucker, of 51 acres, in the town of Rensselaerville, the yearly rent being  $7\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of wheat and four fat fowls, and to perform one days service with carriage and horses."

While these instruments assumed to convey the fee, nevertheless, they have been usually regarded as leases, the parties thereto, in a general way, maintaining the relation of landlord and tenant.

In about the year 1839, public attention was drawn to the strained relations existing between landlords and tenants of the manorial leases in several counties, which condition became acute and a matter of public concern.

The tenants fancying themselves aggrieved and discussing their imagined wrongs, formed themselves into bands and organizations to resist "landlordism." The occupant of the land having inherited the farm, or having purchased and peaceably occupied the same for many years, felt as though a claim for rent, because of long postponement by the landlord, or his representative, was unjustified. It seems, from public statements made, that in many

instances, for one reason or another, the landlords had for long periods, neither demanded nor collected rents, although it also appeared in many cases, that the objectors had taken the title subject to the Van Rensselaer lease, and that the deeds or instruments by which they acquired the property, contained a statement or reference which was a legal recognition of the lease.

The resistance of the tenants must have been agitated for some time previous, because we find that attempts to enforce judgments obtained by the landlords met with organized opposition.

The Albany newspapers of November 30, 1839, state that the sheriff of the county, Michael Archer, having been resisted by the anti-renters in some of the towns, called out the *posse-commitatus*. Nearly 1,000 citizens were called upon to accompany him into the "fastnesses" of the Helderbergs, and on December 2d, the posse set out for Reidsville about 600 strong. They met with no opposition until they arrived at a place about four miles beyond Clarksville, when several hundred men on horses opposed their progress, and they were forced to turn back. They reached their homes about 9 o'clock at night, "wearied and worn with the fatigue of a march to which they where wholly unaccustomed."

This is said to have been the beginning of what is termed the "Anti-Rent War" in Albany.

On December 9, 1839, the sheriff proceeding into the anti-rent district, accompanied by several military companies. They halted at Clark's tavern in Clarksville and established military jurisdiction. On the following day, the Governor issued a proclamation declaring his determination to maintain the supremacy of the laws.

On December 11th, General Averill, of Montgomery County, arrived in town with 500 troops from Montgomery County, destined for the invasion of the Helderbergs. The belligerents finding that formidable arrangements were being made for their overthrow, came in and surrendered. The sheriff thereupon proceeded to serve the processes without meeting any opposition, and the Montgomery County army had permission to return home.

December 15th, the sheriff with the military companies from Albany and Troy, returned to the city from the Helderbergs,

having marched over a heavy road through deep snow twelve miles. They had left the city a week before, and consisted of the Albany Burgesses Corps, Albany Union Guard, Albany Republican Artillery, first and second companies Van Rensselaer Guards, and three Troy companies.

On September 9, 1841, Sheriff Adams took a posse to the Helderbergs to make sale of property which had been recovered, and there were no bidders for what remained.

December 25, 1844, the Burgesses Corps went from Albany to Hudson at the request of the sheriff to assist in protecting the jail against a threatened invasion by the anti-renters. The Emmet Guards went there also a few days after. On December 31st, the Governor ordered out the artillery, the Van Rensselaer Guards and the Washington Riflemen to assist in quelling the disturbances at Hudson. The five companies from Albany numbered 250, rank and file.

April 9, 1845, a weekly anti-rent paper was begun called the "Albany Freeholder."

Disturbances were not limited to Albany County. Acts of violence were committed in resisting process and the carrying out of decrees of courts in adjoining counties, where similar leaseholds existed, homicides actually occurred.

In 1844, there was a serious disturbance in Columbia County, resulting from an effort to serve legal papers, which were taken from the officer and destroyed, and an official wantonly killed. Military companies from Albany and New York were sent on by Governor Bouck. Hudson was virtually under martial law. One of the leaders of the insurrection nicknamed "Big Thunder," was indicted — and after two weeks' trial, in 1845, presided over by Justice Amasa J. Parker, there was a disagreement. He was, however, again tried in September, found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for life. There was also a "Little Thunder" — a man named Peter Finkle, who lived in Albany County. At about the same time in Delaware County an under-sheriff, while preparing for a sale of property, was confronted by about 200 anti-renters calling themselves "Indians," in disguise, armed with rifles, and as the under-sheriff was riding into a field where the property was on which he had levied, he was



shot and killed by them. Great excitement followed — Governor Wright declared the county in a state of insurrection, and a battalion of troops was sent to preserve order and assist the civil authorities. About 250 persons were indicted — two were sentenced to be hung, others to State prison for life, some for a lesser term.

In Albany County, while there were violent conflicts, there was no murder — resistance to process and its service was made by the “Indians,” who were disguised, wearing masks, calico dresses, etc.

The influence of the anti-rent movement in Albany and adjacent counties was felt in many ways. It entered into the political issues of the day, and politicians and candidates listened to the anti-renters’ grievances and expressed sympathy for them.

The agitation on the subject of these leases was manifested in 1848, by the adoption of a concurrent resolution by the Legislature, which is as follows:

“Resolved: (If the Senate concur), that the Attorney-General be instructed carefully to enquire and ascertain whether in any of the lands of this state now claimed to be held under any of the manorial titles referred to in this report, the claim of the present landlords be open to just doubt and question, and whether in his judgment this state may justly and legally lay claim to the title of the same, or any part thereof, by escheat or otherwise; and if in his opinion the title of the present claimants may be justly questioned, and the right of the state to such lands, or to any part of the same, be established according to law, that he take such measures, either by suit at law or any other proper proceedings, as will test the validity of such titles or claims.”

Pursuant to this resolution, the royal patents issued in 1685, in the reign of King James II by Governor Dongan — and in 1708, during the reign of Queen Anne by Lord Cornbury — were attacked in an action by the People. The Attorney-General of the State conducted the prosecution.

There was doubtless great rejoicing among the anti-renters when Justice Harris at the trial held, that the grants were in express violation of the established law, not only in England but of the Colony, on the ground that the manorial privileges and franchises rendered the Crown grants invalid. This was affirmed

by the general term, but after full argument was reversed by the Court of Appeals in 1853, and the instruments held valid.

People v. Van Rensselaer, 9 N. Y. 291.

After the decisions of the highest court sustaining the leases, it was supposed that there would be no further obstructions, a local paper refers to the subject as follows:

"Anti-rentism put itself above the law. It went into politics, and was ruined. It elected governors, judges, congressmen, senators, legislators, sheriffs, and town and county officers, ruined the Van Rensselaers and worried them out of their handsome estates, was petted and patronized as long as it had votes to give, and now after long years of struggle the law finally put its broad hand upon anti-rentism and hopelessly squelched it. The lawyers who have grown rich out of it, the politicians who have been boosted into office by its help abandon it, and none are so poor as to do it reverence."

(From Troy News, 3 Munsell's Collection, p. 266.)

The resistance of tenants, however, was continued through all those years, although in 1859, there were further important decisions of the Court of Appeals in the Hays and Ball cases, upholding the leases and the right to enforce. (12 N. Y. 68, 100.)

The right of an assignee to enforce the payment of rent was also affirmed by the Court of Appeals.

Van Rensselaer v. Slingerlands, 26 N. Y. 580, 1863.

These decisions show that the agitation was still continued and while unsuccessful, the tenants seemed persistent in defending actions brought to enforce the leases.

The last patroon, Stephen Van Rensselaer, died in 1868, but long before his death both his leases on the west side of the river, and those of William P. Van Rensselaer on the east side, had to a great extent, if not entirely, passed into other hands. As early as 1853 some of the leases were parted with — reference to this will appear later. Between that date and up to about 1868, there was great activity in the enforcement of the terms of the leases, particularly in the early 60's matters were very active. The assignees took measures to assert their rights, and I well remem-

ber the scene on the steps of the old manor house on North Broadway, where on New Year's Day, for a number of successive years, demands by the attorneys were publicly made of a long list of tenants, repeating in a loud tone, a demand for the skip-ples or bushels of wheat, the fat fowl, or the day's service provided in the respective leases.

The enforcement of the terms of the leases, naturally led to disturbances and anxiety on the part of the tenants — many hundred actions were brought; in most instances the arrears of rents were paid and adjusted. There was a schedule of values upon which releases could be obtained, and many tenants availed themselves thereof, so that the extinction of leases had been progressing for many years.

In May, 1865, the farm of Hiram Secor, in the town of Berne was sold, under a decree of the Supreme Court, in an action in the name of Van Rensselaer. The persons put in possession under the writ were forcibly ejected by a band masked and disguised as Indians, and an attempt to reinstate them was resisted, requiring an armed force summoned by the sheriff to restore possession under the judgment.

In July, 1866, a military expedition of 100 men was sent to the town of Knox to serve process, which was met by a body of resisters who fled, however, on the approach of the soldiers; nine prisoners were arrested and sent to the Albany Police Court.

As late as September, 1866, two companies of the local militia were sent to the anti-rent district, where tenants had committed excesses upon persons holding property of tenants ejected for non-payment of rent; the militia brought in fourteen prisoners accused of resisting the sheriff's officers.

In 1866 an important decision was made by the Court of Appeals, holding that while the Act of 1787 prohibited the creation of feudal tenures, it did not prevent including in instruments creating the estate, conditions of rent and service, non-performance of which might terminate its existence. The Constitution of 1846, however, seemed to have altered the rule and forbidden such reservation of a perpetual rent or service as the determinable condition of a fee.

Van Rensselaer v. Dennison, 35 N. Y. 393, 1866.



The outstanding leases were conveyed to Walter S. Church about 1878, under a contract made by him with the Van Rensselaers in about 1853, the title thereof having been in the meantime held by James Kidd, Peter Cagger and others, for advances and bonus. During these years there was, as already stated, rather strenuous enforcement of them. Many litigations were begun. The court calendars of Albany and Rensselaer counties were congested with anti-rent cases. Many farms reverted to the landlords for failure to redeem after judgment, but most of those attacked, settled and secured releases.

Another series of litigations culminated in 1883-6 when a number of actions were strenuously contested. These were brought in the name of or against Walter S. Church. Some of them were appealed and form later judicial records on the subject.

It was in the course of these litigations which show the stubborn resistance of the tenants, that some important judicial views were stated.

Justice Learned in an opinion rendered in 1886, said:

"We must keep in mind that while it may be convenient to speak of the instrument (a manorial lease) of 1794, as a lease, the courts have held that it operates as a deed of assignment with a rent charge reserved."

Citing *Van Rensselaer v. Denniston* (35 N. Y. 393).

This was in the minority opinion, the prevailing opinion having been written by Mr. Justice Landon in which he refers to the rules of law and decisions in the various courts of this State bearing upon these instruments. The learned judge said:

"The lands being once subject to the lease, and the lease being by its terms perpetual, the presumption is they still continue subject."

Continuing, he states that the lease being perpetual the presumption results that everyone entering into possession enters under the lease. The person in possession, unless he can show the contrary, is presumed to have entered under this lease. No presumption arises that the covenant to pay rent has been released or discharged.

Citing various cases, he further says that the presumption exists that a person in possession notwithstanding a quit claim deed from another person, entered subject to the lease; whether he knew of the existence of the lease is of no consequence, his ignorance could not extinguish it.

He also refers to the well-settled rule that once in as a tenant, the tenant cannot, without surrendering to his landlord, and then entering under a hostile claim, start an adverse possession, and he must bring home to his landlord knowledge of his adverse claim.

This case also expounded the provision of the Code of Civil Procedure upon the subject, declaring the possession of the tenant to be the possession of the landlord until the expiration of twenty years *after the termination of the tenancy*; not after the non-payment of rent; not after the giving of a deed consistent with the lease.

Bradt v. Church, 39 Hun, 262.

This case was affirmed in the Court of Appeals in 1888, the prevailing opinion being written by Judge Gray, who says:

"The lands for the recovery of the possession of which this action was brought, were covered by a Van Rensselaer manorial perpetual lease, made in 1794. These leases have been frequently the subject of judicial examination by the courts of this state, and by various decisions of this court, the general principles affecting them are well settled. Their covenants and conditions are valid and they are binding upon the heirs or assigns of the original grantee and available to and enforceable by the successors in interest of the original grantor."

Bradt v. Church, 110 N. Y. 537.

This case further decides that these leases being perpetual, everyone entering into possession of the demised premises is presumed to have entered under the lease, and that presumption can only be rebutted successfully by sufficient proof of adverse possession at some time in hostility to the landlord's title. Where the relation of landlord and tenant is once established, it attaches to all who may succeed to the possession under the tenant, however remotely. In the entire absence of any proof to the contrary, the occupation will be controlled by this presumption, and the grantor of the person in possession will be deemed to have entered as tenant under the lease.

"That this lease was perpetual does not affect the case. These leases are of great antiquity. A discussion of their origin seems unnecessary here; for, by more or less recent decisions of this court, their validity and effect have been settled. But it may be pertinently added, perhaps, that whether we turn to the earlier periods of the civil law, or to the later history of the common law, we never find that it was supposed that the ownership of the grantor in such a lease was ever either extinct or dormant. It was kept alive (as here) by a power of re-entry on non-payment of the rent, a right of pre-emption in case of sale and a certain control over the use of the land. By non-payment of the ground rent a forfeiture is worked and (aside from the rent) the chance of such a termination constitutes nearly the only interest left to the owner. The rights of the tenant or grantee, were almost as extensive as those of an owner; but the obligations were always dominant. So the civil law regarded his interest; and it deemed him capable of selling the land to a buyer who would gain the same extensive rights, but, nevertheless, with the same obligation of annual rent payment.

"As to non-payment of rent, or the neglect to demand or collect any in the past, no presumption is thereby created which affects the existence of this lease. \* \* \* But it is said that \* \* \* an abandonment of the title on the part of the Van Schaicks is to be presumed, inasmuch as there is no proof of the payment of rent or any acknowledgment of tenancy with twenty years. \* \* \* Satisfaction of the rent might possibly be presumed \* \* \* after a forbearance of twenty years. \* \* \* But where the relation of landlord and tenant is once established, under a sealed lease, the mere circumstance that the landlord has not demanded the rent, cannot justify the presumption that he has extinguished his right to it by a conveyance of the interest in remainder or revision to his tenant.

"In *Lyon v. Odell* (65 N. Y. 28), an action for rent under one of the Van Rensselaer perpetual leases, no rent had been paid for about fifty-one years, and the question was whether the law indulged the presumption that all the rights reserved by Van Rensselaer in the lease had been released or extinguished, and it was held, on the authority of *Jackson v. Davis*, that there was no such presumption."

*Bradt v. Church*, 110 N. Y. at 544, 545.

The newspapers and periodicals during these controversies contain many articles on the subject. A specimen written by a prominent jurist of those days is given.



Judge A. C. Niven, of Monticello, in the Albany Law Journal of August, 1881, in an article which he called "A Chapter of Anti-Rent History," writing of these leases, said, that the lands owned by the Van Rensselaers and the Livingstons in Albany, Rensselaer, Columbia and some other counties, were as perfect as the title to real estate could be. These lands had been held more than a century by the owners, no one disputing the title. The owner preferred leasing the land for a long term rather than sell it, and hundreds of persons were willing to occupy under a leasehold contract with the land owner. *He* was not bound to *sell* — *they* were not bound to *lease*; that by mutual agreement leases were executed on terms very favorable to the tenants. But after the lapse of years and when the rental in the aggregate had equaled the value of the land, these tenants, ignoring their contracts, came to the conclusion that they ought to own the land in fee; forgetful of the important fact that they had had the exclusive use of the land as an equivalent for such rental.

He further states that Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the old patroon, was celebrated for his leniency toward his tenantry, and after his decease, which occurred in 1839, his son, Gen. S. Van Rensselaer, Jr., who succeeded as landlord, was equally generous; and in referring to the refusal to recognize the lease, or to pay rent, says that a movement which in its inception seemed but a small affair, ripened into a formidable assault on the laws of the land and the rights of property.

The personnel of the individuals connected with the later history of the leases and their enforcement is interesting. The instruments, themselves, like the one herewith exhibited, present noteworthy features, the signatures being the originals of Stephen Van Rensselaer, and in the document produced, that of Abr. Hun, and Thomas Hun, ancestors of the Hun family so well known in our city.

These instruments, in the litigations after, say 1880, were decided by the Supreme Court of our State to require no proof of authenticity or execution to admit them as testimony; in other words, they prove themselves as "ancient instruments."

The attorneys prominent in these litigations during the exciting years to which we have referred, were, for the landlord the

leading counsel, Jenkins & Cooper, both of them great specialists in real estate law, and men of fine legal attainments. Mr. Paul Fenimore Cooper was the son of J. Fenimore Cooper, the novelist.

After the Van Rensselaers parted with the leases, Peter Cagger, Hand & Hale, and their various successors, Peckham & Tremain, Peckham, Rosendale & Hessberg, and Marcus T. Hun, were the attorneys representing the leases.

It is an interesting fact, that in the latest judicial reports of these cases in the Court of Appeals in 1897, Mr. Marcus T. Hun, the grandson and great-grandson of two of the witnesses to the lease which we have here presented, appeared as counsel on behalf of the successor to the landlord.

*Sand v. Church*, 152 N. Y. 174.

Messrs. Colvin & Bingham for many years devoted themselves largely to the defense of these cases, and in efforts to present the cases of the tenants favorably to the public, each of them writing editorials and pamphlets on the subject. In the trial and on the argument of appeals, there were associated with them from time to time the most prominent members of the bar in this and other counties.

In the latest of the contentions, after about 1882, Mr. William Yeomans, of Delhi, Delaware county, appeared in behalf of many of the tenants; resistance was made and actions brought by him in a number of instances. He was successful in but few cases, but in all the actions the validity and continued existence of the leases were maintained.

A number of cases decided by the Court of Appeals about the year 1888, reported in 110 N. Y. Reports, some of which have been referred to, was the culmination of that period of litigations.

The history of this matter would be incomplete without reference to an individual who was a conspicuous factor for about half a century commencing in 1853. This person was Walter S. Church, who came from a prominent family in Allegany county, and was connected by marriage with the Schuyler family. He was interested in the ownership of a large number of leases, particularly in Albany and Rensselaer counties. The leases were formally transferred to James Kidd and Peter Cagger in 1864, who, formally, in 1878, conveyed a large number of them to Mr.

Church; he devoted his time and his energies to the enforcement of their terms; in fact, he became the successor to the patroon and the books and documents which had accumulated for many years in the administration of the manorial leases came to him and his administration. He was a man of great physical courage and energy, and while on the one hand he was generally ready to aid those who were so inclined in obtaining a release of their premises, he was very determined against those who questioned or resisted his claims, and his alleged harsh and vigorous methods resulted in great antipathies in the two counties. He frequently aided the sheriff in summoning and leading *posses* to enforce executions and decrees, and during his long career was looked upon as the militant representative of what was left of the manorial leases.

In one of the many actions to which he was a party, or interested, he testified that he had been interested in law suits, perhaps 2,000 in number; the court calendars of both Albany and Rensselaer counties during his most active years show how greatly he monopolized the attention of the courts and juries in the attempted enforcement of his rights. Before his death, he had succeeded in closing out a great majority of the leases which had come to him. He had, from time to time, taken possession of many farms which were, however, as a rule, of very moderate value. After his death, which occurred in December, 1890, Henrietta Church succeeded to his interests; she brought or defended perhaps 125 suits based on these leases, besides continuing a considerable number of actions brought in his lifetime. She succeeded in all with one or two exceptions.

During the latter years of the career of Mr. Church, Mr. John Hungerford had been his principal agent; he acquired some of the unadjusted leases; his family still holds a small number, a few of which are still in a condition of dormant litigation. There are also remaining in the family of the late George L. Stedman, of this city, a very few leases, the occupants of the land recognizing the same and paying rents to the Stedman estate, but with the death of Mr. Church and of Mr. Yeomans, the contentions arising from and public interest in the manorial system in Albany county have practically ended and the closing phases of an interesting historical incident have been reached.



## HOME LIFE IN THE COLONIAL DAYS IN ALBANY.

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BY JOSEPH A. LAWSON.

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"A city that is set upon a hill cannot be hid." Were its topographical claims to distinction the only ones possessed by the Capital City of the Empire State, it would fulfill all the requirements of the biblical truism. Approaching it upon the bosom of the lordly Hudson from north or south, by rail from the direction of the Hub of the Universe on the east, or rolling swiftly over the splendid State roads that wind their sinuous way toward it from the west, the eye is greeted by the lofty proportions of the world-famous capitol building, the spires of many temples of worship, representing the widely diversified sects into which humanity is divided, but all pointing in the same direction, the graceful outlines of numberless public buildings contributing to the comfort and convenience of the citizen, making an *ensemble* that not only satisfies the aesthetic sense but spells to the wandering Albanian the sweetest of all words in our common language — "home."

The study of American history, fostered by this institution to which I have the honor of submitting so desultory and inadequate a contribution, has made the public and political data of Albany familiar as household words. It is left for me to piece together, with the aid of a powerful imagination, a few fragmentary records in an effort to present a picture of the intimate and everyday life of the inhabitant of this old town in the earlier colonial days, before its importance as a political and social center became matter of public record.

With the arrival of the French fur traders, in the year 1540, the nucleus of a settlement was made. It is difficult, after the lapse of nearly four hundred years, to even conceive the local conditions when these intrepid adventurers grounded the prows of their primitive craft upon the shores of the Hudson River in this vicinity. The erection of a stone fort marked a temporary

settlement. Unlike the New England settler, whose animating motive was freedom from religious persecution, and to whom the voice of conscience was ever a clarion cry, the French *émigré* possessed an eye single to the acquisition of worldly goods. History fails to record any "open-air-meetings" during this period of Albany's development, having for their object the conversion of the noble red man to the true faith. Sharp bargains in pelts, in which the aborigine was at a decided disadvantage with his white brother from across the seas, must have occupied the waking hours, with the ordinary occupations of eating and sleeping filling the unoccupied time. The imprint of a permanent civilization, with the concomitant of a definite home life, was not made until the arrival of the Dutch in 1624. The light and joyous Gallic traits then gave way before the phlegmatic and ponderous Teutonic characteristics.

Whatever elements of romance and chivalry may have been present in the dealings of the French settlers with the Indians rapidly disappeared as the Walloons "got down to business." The commercial instinct continued in the ascendancy to such good purpose that in the year 1686 the settlement had assumed such proportions as to be regarded, as the historian tells us, as "the Metropolis of this country." A charter had been granted by Governor Dongan, and Pieter Schuyler occupied the office of first mayor, with the aid and assistance of a common council. The sense of civic duty was strong in the community. Public office was considered a public trust. The citizen insisted upon the officeholder performing the functions appertaining to his high position. One of the rules governing that early common council was that members of the same absent at the second ringing of the bell should forfeit six shillings as a penalty.

With the city now enjoying all the privileges that flow from a proper organization the daily life of the community becomes reflected in the sights presented upon its public streets and in the market place. Compare, if you please, the passage along our present-day thoroughfares of the trim and well-ordered patrol wagon, with its criminal hidden from public view, with the method of punishment prescribed by an ordinance of that early body of local lawmakers. At its first session the record tells us that the

"Neger Hercules" was ordered to be whipped through the town at the tail of a cart by the hands of the hangman, as an example to others, the same as a punishment for the theft of a chest of wampum belonging to the poor of the Lutheran parish. As to just how the "Lutheran parish" got possession of the wampum, history is silent. Another ordinance prohibited the watering of horses from the pail hanging at any city well or fountain, the forerunner of efforts looking to an uncontaminated water supply that have found their fruition in the present celebrated filtration plant. That the home life of the early Dutch might not be disturbed by the infusion of uncertain elements was one of the first cares of the municipality. Witness the laws compelling strangers to add their names to the mayor's list within forty days, or the constable to be fined twenty shillings, and that all tavern keepers give the aforesaid constable the name of any guest who lodges two days, together with an explanation of the business of such person in the city. The retention of such enactments at the present time might conduce to the purity of the ballot as much as the restriction of the city wells to human use induced a desirable water supply. It requires no vivid imagination to picture the live stock belonging to the community in its free and unrestricted prigrination about the streets of the city at this period. But again public spirit came to the rescue of public health and an ordinance was passed "that their be a pound made upon ye plain for ye use of this citty to put all horses, cattle, hogs and sheep therein." Paternalism, and interference with the rights of the citizen, could not have been as much of a political slogan in 1688 as at present, for in that year the inhabitants, complaining that the bakers had placed an exorbitant price on their commodities, it was ordered that they "take no more than one penny half penny for a loaf of fine white bread."

A year later the town is described as being as large as Montreal, surrounded by pickets, at one end of which is a fort of earth (Fort Orange) surrounded by palisades and having four bastions. This military settlement was garrisoned by a force of 150 men, divided into three companies, besides some pieces of cannon. The city itself contained about 150 houses and 300 inhabitants capable of bearing arms, the majority of whom were Dutch, besides a num-



ber of French refugees, with a few scattering English emigrants. When, in the still watches of the night, the cry of "fire" wakened the honest burghers from the sleep of the just, and the populace poured into the open to man the apparatus for extinguishing the conflagration, the same consisted of twelve ladders and six hooks in each of the three wards of the city. Not much of a spectacle for the small Dutch boy at the "annual parade of the department."

Laws for the preservation of public property seem to have been confined to such as imposed a fine of ten shillings for cutting down any part of the stockade, thus increasing the difficulty of properly celebrating a political victory by a bonfire of any considerable proportions.

About this time the inhabitants wakened to the fact that improved highways are the healthy arteries of a progressive civilization. Complaints had been made that the streets of Albany were found so unfit "that it is unable for any person to use them." This resulted in an ordinance directing that eight feet of ground be paved before each lot. The limitation upon the public improvement afforded small opportunity for graft on the part of the contractor. While some centuries elapsed after the "eight foot" ordinance was passed, the oldest inhabitant remembers when the ground of complaint had not been entirely removed. In 1699 the first symptoms of an appointive police department made their appearance. In that year one John Ratcliffe and one Robert Barrett were appointed "rattle-watch," whose duty it was to patrol the city, "beginning at the main guard-house near by the south gate, northward on Market street to Rutten kill Bridge where lives Colonel Schuyler, then to Yonkers Street up the hill to the fort, along the hill to Alderman Roseboom's residence, east to Parrel street and North of Rom street, beginning at 10:00 o'clock and continuing until dawn, carrying lantern and rattle to give alarm."

Having in mind that at this time about one-half of the adult population of the city was made up of soldiery, an extract from a letter from Governor Coote to England proves of great interest as bearing upon sociological conditions. The governor writes: "The soldiers in garrison at Albany are in such a shameful condition for want of clothes, that the women when passing them are

obliged to cover their eyes." Sharp, indeed, is the contrast to these later day pageants, when the pride of the State, its National Guard, parades for the edification of the populace — smart service uniforms, glistening equipments, and all that goes to make up the ideal soldier is now presented to the admiring onlooker while the gentler sex devour with eyes of approval where their sisters of an earlier century could only stand with averted gaze.

In this year of grace, 1908, the scientific world is studying psychic phenomena with deep interest. Wonderful exhibitions of a spiritualistic, or spiritistic, character are stirring the thinking community. Manifestations take place that in colonial days would have insured those participating in them a place in the stocks, at the whipping post, or even on the gallows. Yet there is little that is new under the sun, for in 1700 witchcraft was introduced into Albany from Canada by a Jesuit squaw who "poisoned from under her nails," it being notorious that Jesuit squaws wore the finger nails long for the express purpose of secreting thereunder the deadly substance through the instrumentality of which the honest and unsuspecting Dutchman was summarily dispatched to the happy hunting grounds. Not long, however, did this daughter of darkness ply her nefarious calling within the stockade surrounding old Albany, for Governor Coote, righteous wrath flaming in his bosom, "made up to her, and with a club beat out her brains."

But gradually light was breaking on the darkness; ignorance and superstition were to give way to education and enlightenment through those elemental forces that spring up in every Anglo-Saxon community. It requires no vivid stretch of the imagination to conceive that heretofore the young idea had been taught to shoot in the direction of the primitive savage, rather than toward the acquisition of useful information. However, in 1721, the ever-useful common council provided the remedy by giving and procuring to one Johans Glandorf free house rent for the term of seven years "for keeping a good and commendable school as becomes a diligent schoolmaster."

Looking backward to these earlier days of Colonial Albany, the primitive conditions existing spread themselves before the mental vision like a panorama. War, pestilence, and famine all entered

into the eternal scheme and worked their will with the home life of the settler. With the advent of the middle of the eighteenth century, a civilization, with which every student of our local history is familiar, had been evolved out of the struggles and trials of those who had forced their way into an untrodden wilderness. The foundation was laid upon which has been reared the superstructure of our present proud preëminence as one of the oldest municipalities in these United States. But whatever may be our boast as to material advancement, there must ever remain with us the consciousness that we owe the sanctity of our firesides, the virtue of our mothers, wives, and sisters, the serenity of our old men, and the valor of our youths to the sturdy seeds of righteousness implanted in the home life of the early colonial days of Albany.



## EARLY COLONIAL CHARTERS IN ALBANY.

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BY FRANK B. GILBERT.

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I am requested to limit this discussion to the early colonial charters of the City of Albany. As so worded the impression might be conveyed that the history of our city would disclose the existence of a number of charter grants from the Dutch and English colonial governments. I have thought it desirable to examine with some care all available records for the purpose of determining whether there is anything which would indicate that more than one charter, the Dongan Charter of 1686, was ever granted by any sovereign power to the City of Albany during the Colonial Period. I can find nothing which indicates the existence of any other charter.

A charter is a grant made by the sovereign, either to the whole people or to a portion of them, securing to them the enjoyment of certain rights. A municipal charter means a grant made by the sovereign power to the inhabitants of a special locality, conferring upon them certain privileges, and specially that of local government. Under existing law a municipal charter is deemed to be a delegation of power to the governing authority of the municipality by the legislative branch of the government, and the measure of the power so granted is that of the Legislature itself.

As already indicated, the first and only colonial charter granted to the City of Albany, or to the inhabitants of the locality embraced from time to time within its limits, is the so-called Dongan Charter of 1686. The existence of such an extensive grant of governmental powers to a locality is conclusive proof of the existence, prior thereto, of some limited governmental functions, vested in other administrative officers. When we come to examine the ordinances, instructions, and other papers pertaining to the affairs of New Netherlands, we are met with the lamentable meagreness

of our available collections. As stated by Robert Ludlow Fowler, in his introduction to the Grolier reproduction of the Bradford Laws, the ordinances, with the other archives of the Dutch West India Company, were sold for waste paper at public auction in the year 1821, by the order of the government of New Netherlands. Had it not been for such sale this State would, in 1841, have obtained a complete copy of the laws of New Netherlands, some of which are now irrevocably lost. This doubtless explains the meagreness complained of, and accounts for our inability to determine as to the precise legal authority of the powers exercised by local officers under the Dutch *régime*.

It is apparent from the charter of the West India Company, which was incorporated in 1621 by the States General of the United Netherlands, that such company possessed governmental functions over the territory granted to it by such charter, subject only to the paramount authority of the States General. The local control of the colony established by the companies was exercised by a Director General and Council, appointed by the company, which had full power of local legislation in the colony, subject to approval or revision by the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company. These governmental functions were exercised by the Director General and Council until the English occupation of 1664. It was doubtless within the power of the Director General and Council to grant local governmental authority to the inhabitants of prescribed localities. This was occasionally done, as appears from the ordinances and other legislative material at our disposal.

We find that a charter conferring the power of local government, subject to certain restrictions specified therein, was granted to the Town of Hempstead on November 16, 1644; to the Town of Flushing, November 10, 1645; to the Town of Gravesend, December 19, 1645. These grants are very special in their nature and were only applicable to those English families residing within the prescribed territories. While we do not find any ordinance or charter specially granting such power to the inhabitants occupying the territory which afterwards became known as Albany, we do find frequent ordinances regulating the affairs of this locality under the name of Fort Orange, Beverwyck, and William-

stadt. Probably the first real transfer of municipal rights to any locality by the Dutch was the establishment on Manhattan Island of a burgher government after the model of the free cities of Holland, which became known as New Amsterdam, and after the English occupation, as New York. This occurred in 1653. From that time on there were probably other similar municipal governments created by the Dutch, although there does not seem to be any record of them in the preserved proceedings of the Director General and Council.

The first formal court for Fort Orange and Beverwyck was established by proclamation of Director General Stuyvesant, April 10, 1652. This court consisted of magistrates appointed by the Director General, and possessed in addition to its judicial functions certain legislative powers.

Frequent references are found to controversies existing between the Patroons and Director General of the colony in respect to the jurisdiction over the land in the immediate vicinity of Fort Orange. From these references it may be assumed that the officers in command at the fort representing the Director General possessed and exercised, not only military, but civil and criminal jurisdiction. It all goes to show that even in the absence of an expressed grant of municipal authority by the Dutch government the community in and around Fort Orange was subject to some kind of local government, bearing some resemblance to the burgher governments of Holland.

In 1664 the Dutch surrendered New Netherlands and the colony was occupied by the English. A grant of the territory included within the colony was made by Charles II to his brother James, Duke of York, under date of March 12, 1664. By this grant it was provided that the Duke of York should have "absolute power and authority to Correct, Punish, Pardon, Govern and Rule all such the subjects of us our heires and Successors as shall from tyme to tyme Adventure themselves into any the parts or Places aforesaid or that shall or does att any tyme thereafter Inhabite within the same, according to such Lawes, Orders, Ordinances direecons and Instruments, as by our said dearest Brother or his Assignees shall bee established And in defect thereof in Cases of Necessitie according to the good discreessons of his Depu-



tyes Commissioners Officers or Assignes respectively as well in all Causes and matters Capitall and Criminall as Civill both Marine and others SOE ALLWAYES as the said Statutes Ordinances and Proceedings bee not contrary to but as neare as conveniently may bee agreeable to the Lawes Statutes and Government of this our Realme of England." The grant further empowered the Duke of York to appoint governors and other officers, and generally to establish a local government within the territory embraced in the terms of the charter. During the year 1664 the Duke of York appointed Richard Nichols as Governor of New York, which conferred upon him, substantially in the same terms as those contained in the grant to the Duke of York, the powers of local government within the province. It was Governor Nichols who in 1665 revoked the Dutch form of government, which had been granted to the City of New Amsterdam, and established the English form of government in the City of New York, by the appointment of officers "to be known and called by the name and style of mayor, alderman and sheriff, according to the custom of England, in other his majesty's corporations." It thus happened that the Dutch burgomasters and shepens were replaced by the English mayor and aldermen.

Other governors succeeded Governor Nichols, and in 1682 Colonel Thomas Dongan was appointed governor of New York under a commission similar to that which issued to Governor Nichols. With his commission Governor Dongan received instructions for the establishment of a general assembly of all the freeholders, "of the persons whom they shall choose to represent them" to the end that such freeholders, after consulting with the Governor and the Council might establish laws fit and necessary to be made for the government of the colony and its dependencies. In the exercise of the power conferred upon him by his commission, Governor Dongan issued a charter to the City of Albany under date of July 22, 1686. This charter was recorded in volume 5 of Patents, in the office of Secretary of State. The instrument itself specifies the reasons why the grant was made. The apparent purpose of the corporations was to confirm existing rights, privileges, franchises, etc., whether granted under the English or Dutch government. The rights of the inhabitants

of the town in the several public buildings, accommodations and conveniences which had been erected or acquired by them were ratified. Among these were the town hall, or stadt house, with the ground thereunto belonging; the church or meeting place, with the ground about the same; the burial place, adjoining to the palisades at the southeast end of the town; the watch house and the grounds thereunto belonging; and a number of other parcels of land which were apparently held in common by the inhabitants. Among other franchises confirmed was that of a ferry "from the said town to Greenbush, situate on the other side of Hudson's River, for the accommodation and conveniency of passengers, the said citizens and travellers."

Among the provisions of this charter which are worthy of note are the following:

The name of the corporation was to be "the mayor, alderman, and commonalty of the city of Albany."

Full power was given to use for the profit of the inhabitants of the city of all the property owned in common, including the profits to be derived from anchorage or wharfage in the harbor, port, or wharf of the said city.

The mayor, alderman and commonalty were authorized to establish, lay out, and repair streets, lanes, alleys, highways and bridges.

All vacant and unappropriated land within the city and to low water mark in the river, together with all water courses in the city not theretofore granted, were conveyed to the city.

The city was given full and free license and liberty of fishing in the Hudson River not only within the limits of the city "but without, even so far northward and southward as the river does extend itself within the said county of Albany."

The boundaries of the city were on the east by the river, on the south by a line drawn from the north end of Martin Gerritsen's island, running back into the woods sixteen miles due northwest, to a certain kill or creek called the Sandkill, on the north by a line to be drawn "from the post that was set by Governor Stuyvesant" near Hudson's River, running likewise northwest sixteen English miles, and on the west by a straight line to be drawn from the points of the said south and north lines. I could find nothing indicating the point where this post was set.

The municipal officers were to be a mayor, a recorder, a town clerk, six aldermen, six assistant aldermen, a chamberlain or treasurer, a sheriff, a marshal, a high constable and three sub-constables. The mayor, recorder, town clerk, aldermen and assistants, chamberlain and sheriff, first appointed were named in the charter. They were appointed to hold office until their successors were named or elected; thereafter the mayor and sheriff were to be appointed each year by the Governor of the province "upon the feast day of St. Michael, the Arch-Angel," (September 29.) The recorder and town clerk were to hold office until the Governor appointed their successors. The chamberlain was to be chosen yearly on St. Michael's day by the mayor and three or more aldermen of each class. Two aldermen and two assistants were to be elected on St. Michael's day from each ward by a majority of the voices of the inhabitants thereof.

The common council was to consist of the mayor, recorder, aldermen and assistant aldermen. They, or a majority of them, were authorized to hold meetings "within the common council house or city hall of the said city." They could make and alter laws, orders, ordinances and constitutions in writing, not repugnant to the laws of England, or to the acts of the general assembly of the province of New York, for the good rule and government of the city, the officers and inhabitants thereof, and for the preservation and disposition of all the property of the corporation. They could enforce such laws, ordinances, etc., by imposing reasonable fines and penalties.

The mayor, recorder and aldermen were constituted justices of the peace with full civil and criminal jurisdiction. The sheriff, town clerk, constables and other subordinate officers of the city were required to wait upon the mayor, recorder and aldermen, and execute such commands, warrants and process as might be directed to them. The mayor, recorder, and aldermen were authorized as justices of the peace to apprehend persons suspected of crime, and to commit them to jail.

The mayor was authorized to grant licenses to tavern-keepers, inn-keepers, ordinary-keepers, victualers and all public sellers of intoxicating liquors. The amount of the license fee was to be fixed by the mayor, and paid for the use of the city.



The mayor was constituted the clerk of the market with full control over the conduct of sales therein.

The mayor, recorder and aldermen, or the mayor, or any three or more of the aldermen, were authorized to make free citizens of the city; except that a person be made a free citizen he could not "use any art, trade, mystery or manual occupation within the said city, liberties, and precinct, thereof, saving in the times of fairs there to be kept during the continuance of such fairs only."

The mayor, aldermen and commonalty were required to hold and keep within the city, two market days in each week, the one upon Wednesday and the other upon Saturday; they were authorized to build a public weigh-house and to regulate the use thereof. This power of restricting the trade to persons who were made free citizens, of conducting market places, keeping market days and controlling weigh-houses, indicates a much closer supervision and control of trade and commerce within the city limits than would obtain under our present law, or than would be justified by existing conditions. It is evident that the city fathers under this ancient charter were really paternal in their domination.

The charter then goes on to create the mayor, recorder and aldermen as a court of common pleas, with civil jurisdiction to be exercised according to the rules of common law, the acts of the general assembly of the province, and the custom of other corporations of like nature. It was required that the mayor or the recorder should at all times sit in the court. The mayor himself was also given civil jurisdiction in actions which did not involve a sum in excess of forty shillings.

The charter itself named Peter Schuyler, the first mayor; Isaac Swinton, the first recorder; Robert Livingston, the first town clerk; Dirk, Wessels, Jan Jans Bleecker, David Schuyler, Johannis Wendall, Lavinus Van Schick, Adrian Garritte, the first aldermen; Joachin Staats, John Lansing, Isaac Verplank, Lawrence Van Ale, Albert Ryckman and Melgert Winantse, the first assistant aldermen; Jan Bleecker, the first chamberlain; Richard Pretty, the first sheriff, and James Parker, the first marshal.

There is plenty of evidence that the inhabitants of the city considered this charter with great favor, and that it was believed that the interests of the community were materially advanced thereby. It appears in the proceedings of the common council on the 26th of July, 1686, four days after the execution of the charted by Governor Dongan, that "Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingston, who were commissioned by the town of Albany, to go to New York and procure the charter for this city, which was agreed upon between the magistrates and the Right Honorable Colonel Thomas Dongan, Governor General, who accordingly have brought the same along with them and was published with all the joy and acclamation imaginable; and the said two gentlemen received the thanks of the magistrates and burgesses for their diligence and care in obtaining the same." That the joy and acclamations were justified may not be doubted. The charter disposed of all dispute as to the jurisdiction of the Van Rensselaers over the territory embraced within the boundaries of the city. Governor Dongan reports in 1686, that with no considerable difficulty he secured from the Van Rensselaers a release of "their pretence to the town and sixteen miles into the country for commons to the King, with liberty to cut fire-wood within the colony for one and twenty years." After he had secured this release he passed the patent to Albany and thus is explained the boundaries of the city, as extending back from the river for a distance of sixteen miles.

The corporation created by the charter was given complete jurisdiction over the territory within the bounds; large tracts of land were conveyed to the corporation with the power to dispose of the same for its benefit; executive officers with power to administer the city were still appointed by the Governor of the province, but they were required to be citizens of the city and all of their important powers and duties were to be exercised or performed in conjunction with the aldermen and assistants who were elected by the freeholders of the city. Thus a fair measure of local self-government was accorded to the inhabitants, and they were exempted from the obnoxious interference of the arbitrary patroons, the arrogant military commanders and the disinterested nonresident representatives of the provincial

government. Many of the grants made by the charter were confirmatory of existing real and intangible privileges, franchises and customs, but there were many grants of new rights and privileges which must have added materially to the wealth and enhanced greatly the prosperity of the community. The charter definitely declared and permanently settled controverted rights, brought within the limits of the municipality extensive territory, supplied officers with full power, executive and judicial, to promote "good rule, oversight, correction and government of the city and the liberties of the city, and of all the officers thereof," and where former official action was dubious and conflicting, it now became definite. The result must have been of decided benefit to the inhabitants of the community and it may safely be said that no legislative grant of corporate power either before or since to the city of Albany has ever been so important in its beneficent effects.

The men who constructed this charter built upon a solid foundation. You may look diligently through colonial statutes, proclamations and legislative proceedings and you will find no indication of any effort to annul or modify its terms. It stood as a basis of our municipal activities from the time of its adoption until the end of the colonial period, more than ninety years. Frequent acts were passed by the general assembly of a colony authorizing the levy of taxes for special purposes and requiring the performance of special duties of certain specified city officers, yet none of these acts were fundamental in their charter or could be said to affect in any way the charter rights.

The legislature of the new state did not enact many amendatory or supplemental laws during the first few years of its existence. Prior to 1806 there were no acts of particular importance. In this year, extensive changes were made in the government of the city, but the body of the charter was left intact.

To anyone acquainted with the action of our modern legislatures in respect to municipal charters, the almost entire absence of legislative interference with the Dongan charter for a period of more than 100 years will seem very remarkable. In the years subsequent to 1806 and down to the year 1842 acts amendatory of and supplemental to the charter were more fre-



quent. In 1842 the acts relating to the city of Albany were combined into one act producing in effect a new charter, superseding in many important respects the provisions of the Dongan Charter. No attempt was made to nullify the rights and privileges granted by the old charter, so that they remained in full force. In fact the charter of 1842 seems to recognize the powers and privileges conferred by the Dongan Charter as irrevocable by legislative enactment.

The grant of municipal charter to a locality is in every case an important event in its history. No city in this State is more fortunate in this respect than Albany. A careful study of the terms of this charter and of the conditions surrounding its enactment will reveal many interesting historical details, and impress the mind with the wisdom and foresight of its draftsmen and promoters.

# THE FIRST RAILROAD IN NEW YORK STATE.

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By HENRY L. TAYLOR, PH.D.

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[Read by title, Wednesday, October 14, 1908, before the State Historical Association, being a photographic survey of a portion of The Mohawk & Hudson Railroad.]

In a room 34 foot square in the Liberal Arts Building of the St. Louis Exposition, there was a section containing 300 beautifully executed photographs. They were not snap shots taken at random in the course of vague or idle tours, but carefully studied exposures which gave a large and accurate knowledge of the history, politics, antiquities, social life, customs and traditions of Great Britain.

The photographic survey was first organized in Warwickshire, England, which was divided up and allotted to different persons. Country and neighborhood expositions were held and, as a finishing stroke, the British Museum undertook to house, arrange and exhibit the photographs chosen for this purpose.

Let me bring to the attention of this Association the importance of this work and the rare opportunity afforded the Association to lead in a movement that will increase its field of influence, and will bind it more closely with the county associations. I have congratulated myself on the fortunate position this paper occupies on the program in that it immediately precedes the symposium.

The Empire State holds no mean place in the history of this country. Saratoga, one of Creasey's Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World, lies within her border; the battle the Walloonsack has just been won from the records of the inaccurate historian that located it in a neighboring commonwealth under an inaccurate title "The Battle of Bennigton." In politics she still plays no inconsiderable part as proven by the national campaign now raging with her borders; her antiquities are recognized as second to none in the New World and are cared for in the library and

museum of the State; her social life, customs and traditions have been as varied, important and as worthy of preservation as any in the land. Why should not the Empire State emulate England by a systematic photographic survey of all the items of historic moment within her boundaries? She has a library for the preservation of literary effort, a museum to care for material objects, a historian to direct in the field of research, local historical associations, and private initiative for field work. She seems to lack a leader only, and what task more worthy the New York State Historical Association.

Let us now turn to the importance and the practicability of securing carefully studied photographic exposures of all items of historic interest in our State, and remember that such records will necessarily involve much material of historical importance ever increasing in value as the years go by.

A word only regarding the practicability of the general plan, which needs no demonstration. Negatives of uniform size, say 4 x 5 inches, accompanied by accurate memoranda can be readily stored in compact form for future reference. When a negative has been reproduced by photo or other engraving process an electrotpe of the same should be preserved with the negative, and indexed. A card index of the negatives and of the electrotypes and a subject index of the memoranda renders this material available.

Touching the importance of this work let me argue by illustration, using the first railroad of the State, the Mohawk and Hudson, for this purpose. Without expatiating upon the importance of the railroad interests of the State and Nation or attempting to forecast their growth and development, let me call your attention to the remains that are with us, which are fast disappearing under the ravages of time and improvements. To determine what items are of historic interest and at the same time to bring into the field of view any of present moment, a careful study of the information available was made. Three important sources are found: first, the writings of Munsell in his *Annals of Albany*, and his *Monograph* read before the Albany Institute, April 20, 1875, and published in the eighth volume of the *Transactions*; second, Brown's *History of the First Locomotive in America*, a



revised edition of which was brought out in 1874; third, *The Illustrated American* of 1891 and 1894, containing an account of the excursion of August 9, 1831, and of Henry's picture, *The First Railway Train*. In addition to these, important subsidiary sources of information are found in the reports of the officers, in local histories and in the records of the county clerks' offices and the newspaper files.

Those in attendance on last night's meeting will recall the views presenting some remains of the roadway, and this article contemplated two or three illustrations of the more important. As a concise statement of the present remains of the roadbed and of the more important facts connected with the first five miles of the eastern end, the following is taken from the records of the Albany Chamber of Commerce, concerning the proposed boulevard commemorating this historical monument.

On the west side of Delaware avenue, where Morton street strikes the avenue, may be seen a long and high embankment, and underneath it a culvert. This big fill is a part of the original roadbed of the Mohawk & Hudson Railroad, the first railroad in this State and perhaps the first in the United States, built for carrying passengers as well as freight.

The Mohawk & Hudson Railroad Company was incorporated in 1826 for the purpose of connecting the cities of Schenectady and Albany. A portion of the road was opened in 1831, viz.: from the junction of what is now Madison avenue and Western avenue in Albany, to the brow of a hill overlooking and distant about a mile from the city of Schenectady. In 1832 the entire road with an inclined plane in each city named was completed terminating in Albany at Gansevoort and Quay streets. In 1833 a branch road was laid from the junction referred to along and down State street terminating in a depot in what is now known as Van Vechten Hall. In 1841 this branch was taken up and the terminus was made on the west side of Broadway, adjoining the South Ferry, the track having been laid down Broadway to Gansevoort street. In the operation of the road each car was drawn by horses down Broadway to Gansevoort street and across South Pearl street to the foot of what is now known as Third avenue, said street having been graded for the inclined plane.

At this point the cars were coupled and drawn up the plane by a cable operated by a stationary engine located in a building south of Morton street and about 500 feet east of Delaware avenue. At the top of this grade, the locomotive was coupled to the train, which was run across Delaware avenue, and at the embankment in question across the New Scotland turnpike and thence by a certain route, which up to a few years ago was sharply defined with cuts and fills between the blocks of streets up to Manning Boulevard. From this point just north of Western avenue the old roadbed still remains up to a point west of West Albany. In 1844 from this latter point the road was abandoned to its termination in Broadway, and the present route laid out through Tivoli Hollow terminating in Montgomery, near Maiden Lane. The waiting room for passengers was located very near the corner of Maiden Lane and Dean street. In 1847 the name was changed to Albany & Schenectady Railroad, and in 1853 it became a part of the consolidated line of the New York Central Railroad.

Perhaps the best illustration showing the possibilities of the photographic survey, is the view from the site of the old Capitol (1806), over State and Eagle streets upon Van Vechten Hall, built for an inn by the railroad company that became in turn the first normal school of the State, and the first free academy of the city.

## IN MEMORIAM.

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DR. TRUMAN J. BACKUS.

*Died March 25, 1908.*

Dr. Truman J. Backus, President of the Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn, for twenty-five years, died of kidney trouble March 25th, at his home, 57 Livingston street, in his sixty-sixth year. He was a son of the Rev. Dr. Jay Spicer Backus and was born in Locke, Cayuga county. He was graduated from the University of Rochester in 1864 and received his M.A. degree three years later and a LL.D., in 1883. At the close of the Civil War he organized the first negro school in Richmond, Va. He was professor of rhetoric and English literature in Vassar College from 1867 until 1883. He was a member of the Civil Service Commission in Brooklyn under Mayors Schieren and Wurster and from 1896 to 1900 was a member of the Board of Managers of the Long Island State Hospital and later was President of the Board. He also served for several years as trustee of the Randall's Island House of Refuge. He was a trustee of the Brooklyn Library, vice-president of the Hamilton Club and a member of the Century Club, Phi Beta Kappa and Alpha Delta Phi, and New York State Historical Association. In 1905 he was president of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. He was the author of "Great English Writers," Outlines of English Literature" and of a revision of Shaw's "History of English Literature." Dr. Backus was twice married, his first wife being Sarah C. Glass, of Syracuse, and his second wife Helen C. Hiscock, a sister of Judge Hiscock of the Court of Appeals, who died less than two years ago. He is survived by three sons, Raymond B. Backus, Grosvenor H. Backus and the Rev. A. Hamilton Backus, and a daughter, Mrs. Roscoe C. E. Brown. It was the intention of Dr. Backus to retire at the close of the present school year to his vineyard near Penn Yan and he had made arrangements with the trustees to be succeeded in September by Edward Jasper Goodwin, assistant State Commissioner of Education.



## GENERAL GEORGE SHERMAN BATCHELLER.

*Died July 2, 1908.*

Gen. George Sherman Batcheller, the American member of the International Tribunal, at Cairo, Egypt, died in Paris, July 2d. The cause of death was cancer of the mouth, from which he had been suffering for some time.

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Gen. George Sherman Batcheller was born in Batchellerville, near Saratoga, N. Y., July 25, 1837. He was the son of Sherman Batcheller, one of the best known residents of Saratoga county and a power in the local politics of the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Batcheller gained his preliminary education at the Fort Edward Institute and entered the law college of Harvard with the class of 1857. After his graduation he studied law in the office of one of his father's friends in Saratoga and was admitted to the bar in the year following his graduation. He commenced practising immediately at Saratoga, and in the same year he was elected to the lower house of the New York Legislature, being then just twenty-one years old.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Mr. Batcheller was commissioned in the 115th New York Infantry as a captain. He served throughout the war with this regiment until he rose to the rank of brigadier-general. In the battle of Harper's Ferry he was captured and later exchanged. He served through all the Virginia campaigns and participated in the siege of Charleston. He was made Deputy Provost Marshal General of the Department of the South in 1863. During the last year of the war he was made Inspector General of Volunteers and National Guard of New York State.

When President Lincoln's body was passing in state from Washington to Springfield, Ill., General Batcheller was appointed to accompany it through New York as representative of the State. After the war General Batcheller resumed his law practice in Saratoga. He was elected a member of the State Assembly in 1873 and had served one year in that office when President Grant

appointed him American judge in the International Tribunal in Egypt. By his colleagues of that body General Batcheller was made the Presiding Justice of the court.

He resigned that position in 1885 to serve again in the State Legislature of New York, where he was seated for two successive terms. Then President Harrison appointed General Batcheller, First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, a position which he held from 1889 to 1891, when he was sent as Minister to Portugal. From 1893 he was the American diplomatic representative in Europe with headquarters in Paris. Following this he was for a year European manager of the Governmental affairs of several American companies. In 1895 General Batcheller was appointed to preside over the deliberations of the Universal Postal Congress, held in Washington.

Distinguished honor was paid to General Batcheller by the Egyptian Government, which in 1898 specially requested the American Government to reappoint him to the International Tribunal. It was while he was holding this second tenure in Cairo that his wife, who had been Miss Cook of Albany, died and the Khedive and all of the Egyptian court broke precedent and attended her funeral. The Khedive later sent a wreath from Cairo to the Batcheller cemetery plot in Saratoga, where Mrs. Batcheller was interred. The last Government appointment that came to General Batcheller was that by President Roosevelt, who made him a Justice of the International Court of Appeal in May, 1902.

General Batcheller leaves one daughter, Miss Kate Batcheller. He was a member of the New York State Historical Association and of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion in this country, and abroad he was made a grand officer of the Imperial Order of the Medjidieh and decorated by King Humbert, of Italy, with the cross and insignia of the Order of the Crown of Italy.

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### CHARLES MAKEPEACE DOOLITTLE.

*Died October 10, 1908.*

September 23d, Mr. Doolittle, while returning from the Iroquois Pulp and Paper Mill, at Thomson's, of which he was Assist-

ant Superintendent, fell from his bicycle while crossing the upper free bridge in Schuylerville. As a result of the fall two small bones in his left hand were broken. Although the injury was painful it did not appear serious, and Mr. Doolittle continued at his work. So far from his mind were any thoughts that the injury might be serious, that October 2d, when leaving the mill, he told the men that if he was not at the mill in the morning it would mean that he had gone to the mill of the Moose River Lumber Company, at McKeever, in which he was interested.

That night while eating his dinner, his jaws tightened. His physician administered tetanus antitoxin, and everything possible was done to combat the disease, but after a brave fight, during which he remained conscious until the day before his death, he was forced to succumb at 1 p. m. Saturday, October 10th.

The death of Mr. Doolittle caused a deep sorrow, not only through Schuylerville and vicinity, but in the neighboring villages, where he was well-known. He was forty years ago in the village of Schuylerville, the son of Dr. and Mrs. Emory Doolittle, who for a number of years resided here. Early in life he became active in business affairs. Admitted to the bar, he practiced the profession of law for some years in this village. He also was for a number of years Paymaster of the Saratoga Victory Manufacturing Company, at Victory Mills, and when the big dam at Spier Falls was being constructed, was employed there. Lately he had been Assistant Manager of the Iroquois Pulp and Paper Company, at Thomson's, and was also interested in the Moose River Lumber Company, at McKeever. He had served as supervisor from the town of Saratoga, being elected in a strong Republican town, although he was a Democrat. He was a member of all the Masonic bodies, of Schuylerville and of Washington Commandery, No. 33, K. T., of this village, and Oriental Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S., of Troy.

Several years ago he married Miss Nettie Wakeley, of Schuylerville, who survives him, with his parents, Dr. and Mrs. Emory Doolittle, of Schuylerville, and one sister, Mrs. Malcolm S. Potter, of Glens Falls. His wife is a distant relative of John A. Dix, the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor in 1908.



Mr. Doolittle was one of the best liked young men in Schuylerville. He was popular among his acquaintances, an athlete in his youth, liberal minded, strictly honest, and a man who paid entire attention to the business in which he engaged. He was Vice-President of the Schuylerville Business Men's Association, and a member of the Sons of Veterans, being the first member of that organization to die in Schuylerville since its formation, and the New York State Historical Association.

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### JAMES HENRY DURKEE.

*Died January 25, 1908.*

James Henry Durkee, one of the most prominent agriculturists in Washington county, died January 25th, at his home in Sandy Hill. Mr. Durkee was born in Fort Edward in 1848, attended Cornell University and soon afterward became principal of the Sandy Hill union schools, occupying that position for ten years. Later he was editor of the Washington County Advertiser, published in Fort Edward. He was a prominent Republican and held many local offices. He was Superintendent of the New York State agricultural exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition, in Buffalo and at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis.

At the time of his death he was President of the New York State Association of County Agricultural Societies, to which position he had been re-elected for the thirteenth time; President of the New York State Agricultural Society, State Fair Commissioner, Trustee of Cornell University and a member of many other organizations and societies.

Mr. Durkee was a member of Sandy Hill Lodge, F. and A. M.; Fort Edward Chapter, R. A. M.; Washington Commandery of Saratoga Springs, Oriental Temple of Troy, Kingsbury Grange, of which he was Past Master; Theta Delta Chi college fraternity and New York State Historical Association.

## D. WILLIS JAMES.

*Died May 17, 1907.*

D. Willis James was born at Liverpool, April 15th, 1832, he was educated in the schools of that city, and at the schools on the border of Lancashire and Yorkshire and Edinburgh. In the year 1840 he came to New York, which city became his home. In 1854 he became a member of the firm Phelps, Dodge & Company, as he was also a member of the firm Phelps, James & Company, London. He was largely interested in developing mining interest in Arizona. He was one of the corporate members of the American board, and was for many years President of the Children's Aid Society. In 1891, he became a member of the Board of Trustees of Amherst College. By his will he bequeathed to the Union Theological Seminary, Columbus University, Yale University, Amherst College, Cooper Union, Children's Aid Society of New York, Hampton Institute for Negroes and Indians, Protestant Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine, the Presbyterian Hospital of New York, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the sum of \$100,000 each. He was for some time prior to his death a member of the New York State Historical Association.

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## MORRIS KETCHUM JESSUP.

*Died January 22, 1908.*

Morris K. Jessup, retired banker and long prominent in civic affairs, died early January 22d at his home, 197 Madison avenue, New York city, from heart disease. He was seventy-eight years of age. Resigning as President of the Chamber of Commerce a year ago, Mr. Jessup severed practically his last connection with active business. In addition to his large business interests, Mr. Jessup was prominent in philanthropic and scientific associations.

Morris Ketchum Jessup, was born at Westport, Conn., June 21, 1830. He was employed in the position of clerk for a manufacturing firm in New York until 1852, and was an active banker from 1852 to 1884. He was married to Maria Van

Antwerp DeWitt, April 26, 1854, by Rev. Thomas DeWitt. Mr. Jessup became President of the New York City Mission and Tract Society in 1881, and for this society he built the DeWitt Memorial Church in Rivington street in memory of his father-in-law, Rev. Dr. DeWitt.

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REUBEN N. PECK.

*Died November 11, 1908.*

Reuben N. Peck, for several years a member of the New York State Historical Association, died at his residence on Washington street, Glens Falls, N. Y., November 11th, 1908. He was a son of William and Hannah Peck and a life long resident of Glens Falls. He was sixty-eight years of age at the time of his death. He was engaged in business throughout his life in his native place. He was a member of the Baptist Church and was one of its trustees, and was also a member of Senate Lodge F. and A. M. He is survived by his wife and one daughter, Mrs. A. P. Folwell, of Mountclair, N. J., and a sister, Miss Mary Peck, of Fort Ann. In all the relations of life Mr. Peck was held in the highest regard and esteem. He was interested in all that tended to promote and elevate the welfare of mankind.

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STEVENS.

*Died April 10, 1908.*

Benjamin Franklin Stevens, President of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company of Boston, was born in Boston, March 6, 1824, son of Benjamin and Matilda (Sprague) Stevens. He was a descendant on the maternal side of Samuel Sprague, one of the "Boston Tea Party," and through Joanna Thayer Sprague, was directly descended from Peregrine White, the first white child born in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was educated in the Boston public schools, graduating from the English High School in 1838. From school he at once entered business life, and



received a thorough mercantile training, covering a period of five years. Then he became attached to the United States frigate "Constitution," the famous "Old Ironsides," as clerk to her commander, Captain John Percival, in which he made a cruise around the world from 1843 to 1846. He retired from the naval service and returned to Boston, and soon after, on April 9, 1847, was elected Secretary of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company of Boston. June 14, 1864, he was elected Vice-President of the Company; and upon the resignation of the Hon. Willard Phillips, November 14, 1865, he was elected President of the Company, a position he has since held. His connection with the life insurance business has extended through sixty-one years; and he was probably the oldest life insurance official in point of service in the United States. Mr. Stevens was married in 1850 to Catherine, daughter of Ezra Lincoln, who, with one daughter, Mrs. H. L. Jordan, survives him.

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### COLONEL WILLIAM LEETE STONE.

*Died June 11, 1908.*

William Leete Stone, Sr., historian and editor, died at his residence, 151 Park avenue, Mount Vernon, June 11th, aged seventy-three years.

Mr. Stone was a descendant of William Leete, Colonial-Governor of Connecticut about 1670-80, who hid the regicide Judges Goff and Whalley after they had sat in judgment upon Charles I. and fled to America. His father, Col. William L. Stone, was also a well-known historian and the distinguished editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* from 1822 until his death in 1844, and his granduncle was the Rev. Francis Wayland, President of Brown University.

The deceased was born in New York city, but after his father's death passed his boyhood in Saratoga Springs. He entered Brown in 1853 under President Wayland. Before graduation in 1858 he spent a year in Germany learning the language so as to translate the journals of Mme. Reidesel, who accompanied her husband,

the Baron, in command of the Hessians during Burgoyne's campaign.

After completing an Albany Law School course, Mr. Stone practised in Saratoga until 1863, meantime completing his father's unfinished work, "Life and Times of Sir William Johnson."

In 1859 he married Miss Harriet D. Gillette of Cleveland, Ohio, and three sons and a daughter now survive. Mr. Stone came to New York in 1863 and was for several years city editor of the *Journal of Commerce* and afterward until 1872 conducted a printing office in this city. His firm succumbed in the course of the "Black Friday" panic in 1872 and since then Mr. Stone had had a post in the New York Custom House.

Colonel Stone was the author of *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.*; *Revolutionary Letters*; *Pausch's Journal*; *Burgoyne's Campaign* and *St. Leger's Expedition*; *Life and Military Journals of Major-General Riedesel*; *Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel*; *History of New York city*; *Life and Writings of Col. William L. Stone*; *Reminiscences of Saratoga and Ballston*; *The Saratoga Battle Grounds*; *Ballads of the Burgoyne Campaign*; *Sir John Johnson's Orderly Book*; *Historical Guide Book to Saratoga Springs and Vicinity*; *Third Supplement to Dowlings's History of Romanism*; *The Starin Genealogy*; *The Stone Genealogy*; *History of Washington County, N. Y.*, and the *Classic Ground of America*; *The Life of Governor George Clinton*.

Mr. Stone's library includes probably the most complete and rare works of reference extant relating to the campaign of Burgoyne. He was a member of nearly every State historical society and a number of European societies. Mr. Stone was a classmate at Brown with John Hay and a warm friendship between them always endured.

In 1876 he was appointed centennial historian for the State of New York and was for many years secretary of the Saratoga Monument Association, composed of patriotic men of influence, who with aid from Congress and from the State erected the magnificent shaft on the surrender ground at Schuylerville, N. Y. Mr. Stone's persistent activities for many years in bringing this project to completion can hardly be overestimated. His historical

works and those of his father are standard and oft-quoted authorities on the subject of Indian and Revolutionary history.

Mayor Strong appointed Mr. Stone member of a commission to collect and publish the old municipal records and laws of New Amsterdam, and at his death Mr. Stone was, by appointment of the Governor, a member of the Hudson-Fulton celebration commission to arrange for the commemoration next year of the tercentenary of the discovery of the Hudson River in 1609 and in commemoration of the inventing of Fulton's steamboat in 1807.

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### DIEDRICH WILLERS.

*Died June 25, 1908.*

Diedrich Willers, former Secretary of State of New York, died June 25th, at his home, Varick, Seneca county. He was seventy-five years old. He was the private secretary of Governor Seymour. He was nominated for Secretary of State by the Democratic party in 1871, but was defeated. He ran again in 1873 and was elected. In 1886 he acted as Deputy Secretary of State.



## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

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- "Kansas Historical Society Collections," Vol. 10.  
James A. Roberts, "National Cyc. of American Biography,"  
Vol. 12, and three volumes of "Massachusetts Soldiers and  
Sailors."  
"The State Historical Society of Missouri."  
"The Historical Review."  
"The Essex Institute."  
"Historical Collections."  
"Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly."  
"The Connecticut Magazine."  
"The Iowa Journal of History and Politics."  
"The Annals of Iowa."  
"Union Club, List of Members."  
"Proceedings of the Vt. Historical Society."  
"Century Association, List of Members."  
"Annual Report of Connecticut Historical Society."  
"Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina."  
"Schenectady County Historical Society Proceedings."  
"Alfred University Semi-centennial Souvenir."  
"N. J. Archives," 1 series, Vol. 25.  
"N. J. Archives," 2 series, Vol. 3.  
"Year Book of the Penn. Society."  
Morris Patterson Ferris, "Tarrytown Church."  
"Chicago Historical Society, List of Members."  
"Proceedings N. H. Historical Society."  
"Proceedings State Historical Society of Wisconsin," Fifteen  
years.  
"Proceedings New England Society."  
"Woburn Public Library Report."  
"Year Book, Association of the Bar of the State of New  
York."  
"Vermont Senate and House Journals," from the Vermont  
State Historical Society.

Johns Hopkins' "Historical and Political Science," four numbers.

"Empire State Society S. A. R.," year book.

"Medico-Legal Journal," seven numbers.

"Year Book of the Oneida Historical Society."

"Vineland Historical Antiquarian Society," annual report.

"Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Abraham Lincoln."

"Historical Department of Iowa."

"Second Report of the Public Archives."

"Ontario Historical Society," Toronto.

"Twelve Numbers of Proceedings and Publications."

From the Library of Congress, "Calendar of John Paul Jones, Manuscripts."

"Some Papers Laid Before the Continental Congress," two numbers.

"The Library of Congress and its Work," list of publications.

"Select List of Books on Currency and Banking."

"List of Works on the First and Second Banks of the United States."

"Report for 1907."

"Papers of James Monroe."

"List of Works Relating to Political Parties."

"List of Works Relating to French Alliance."

"Report for 1908."

## INSIGNIA OF THE ASSOCIATION.

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The Insignia of the Association consists of a badge, the pendant of which is circular in form, one and three-sixteenths inches in diameter.

Obverse: In the center is represented the discovery of the Hudson River; the "Half-Moon" is surrounded by Indian canoes, and in the distance is shown the Palisades. At the top is the coat-of-arms of New Amsterdam and a tomahawk, arrow and Dutch sword. At the bottom is shown the seal of New York State. Upon a ribbon, surrounding the center medallion, is the legend: "New York State Historical Association," and the dates 1609 and 1899, the former being the date of the discovery of New York, and the latter the date of the founding of the Historical Association.

Reverse: The Seal of the Association.

The badges are made of 14k gold, sterling silver and bronze, and will be sold to members of the Association at the following prices:

14k gold, complete with bar and ribbon.....	\$11 00
Sterling silver, complete with bar and ribbon.....	5 00
Bronze, complete with bar and ribbon.....	4 00

Applications for badges should be made to the Secretary of the Association, Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward, N. Y., who will issue permit, authorizing the member to make the purchase from the official jewelers, J. E. Caldwell & Co., 902 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.



## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE STATE.

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### *To the New York State Historical Association:*

At the last annual meeting of this Association, the following resolutions were adopted:

*Resolved*, That the President be authorized to appoint a committee of three to consider as to the establishment of closer relations between the various Historical Societies of the State.

*Resolved*, That the committee be requested to enter into correspondence with other Societies for the purpose of receiving suggestions as to the matter referred to them, and that their report be made a special order for discussion at the annual meeting for 1908.

Later the President appointed the undersigned as the committee authorized by the terms of the resolutions.

On August 10th the Committee, through its Chairman, forwarded a letter, covering these resolutions, to the various historical societies of the State, so far as their names could be ascertained. Suggestions were requested and each society was invited to send one or more delegates to this meeting to attend a conference, to the end that closer relations might be established between the different societies.

In this letter it was stated that "there are a large number of Historical Societies in the State, and they have been, and are, doing excellent work. It is believed, however, that their work may be made more attractive, systematic and effective, and that they may all be strengthened by the establishment between them of more intimate relations, and the adoption of some simple, helpful system of coöperation."

The number of replies to this communication was disappointing. As a matter of fact, many of our historical societies are in

a state of suspended animation. Several of them were organized with special reference to the happening, or the celebration of some historical event, and this being past, the active life of the society ceased. Again, in some instances, they have been established through the enthusiasm and high ideals of some single personality, only to lapse into desuetude upon his death.

The societies responding to our communication were: The Canisteo Valley Historical Society; the Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands; the Tarrytown Historical Society; the Montgomery County Historical Society; the Buffalo Historical Society; the Rochester Historical Society; the Schoharie County Historical Society; the Oneida County Historical Society; the Putnam County Historical Society; the New York Historical Society; the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society; the Onondaga Historical Association and the Ticonderoga Historical Society.

If, however, the number of replies received was disappointing, their tenor was most encouraging. All expressed an earnest desire to coöperate with this association in the establishment of more intimate relations between the various historical societies of the State.

The members of your Committee were so widely scattered, and it was found so difficult to get a full expression by correspondence from the representatives of the various societies, that the Committee early determined not to present a report to this meeting which should be made a special order, as directed by the resolutions under which they were appointed. Instead your Committee recommended to the Committee on Program, that the resolutions as adopted, be made a subject of discussion at this meeting, affording an opportunity for a free interchange of views, following which such action could be taken as should seem wise to the Association.

The Committee on Program approved the suggestions of this Committee, and have assigned the discussion a place upon the program. Your Committee thereupon secured the services of Frank H. Severance, the Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society, to open the discussion, and he will be followed by Hon. Danforth E. Ainsworth, Vice-President Albany Historical So-

ciety; Lucy M. Salmon, A.M., Professor of History, Vassar College; Charles F. McClumpha, President Montgomery County Historical Society; Hon. A. Judd Northrup, President Onondaga Historical Association, and others.

In view of this discussion, which will undoubtedly result in appropriate action, your Committee decided to submit only this formal report of progress, stating in a general way, what it had done under the commission received from the society.

Your Committee is of the opinion, however, that the purposes of the resolutions would be materially advanced, if the annual volume of this Association was printed and distributed on or before February first of each year. Thus promptly published, your Committee would recommend that these volumes contain the following:

I. The names of the officers and the members of the principal committees of each of the historical societies of the State.

II. A list of the publications of each society for the previous year, compiled in conformity to the system adopted in the recently issued Bibliography of American Historical Societies.

III. A succinct summary of the proceedings of the meetings of these societies held during the same period, giving the titles of all addresses made, or papers read, with the names of their authors.

We believe that such a publication would prove of great advantage as a primary step, and as a primary step only, not merely toward the establishment of closer relations between our historical societies, but in defining and elevating the character of their work, and in making it more homogeneous and of greater value.

Dated, October 12, 1908.

GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE,  
IRVIN W. NEAR,  
WM. O. STILLMAN.

The report was adopted and the committee was continued with instructions to collect data from the various societies in accordance with recommendations of the report. In response to the solicitation of the committee the following information has been collected.



## ALBANY INSTITUTE AND HISTORICAL ART SOCIETY.

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Incorporated originally March 12, 1793, under the title of "The Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures" of which Chancellor Robert R. Livingston was the first President. Re-incorporated under the title of "The Society for the Promotion of the Useful Arts in the State of New York." Re-incorporated as The Albany Institute, February 27, 1829, with Hon Stephen Van Rensselaer, President. "The Albany Historical and Art Society," organized in 1866, was united with The Albany Institute, April 25, 1900, under the title "Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society."

Annual meeting, second Monday in May.

### OFFICERS, 1908.

President, James Ten Eyck.

First Vice-President, Danforth E. Ainsworth.

Second Vice-President, Albert Vander Veer.

Third Vice-President, Cyrus S. Merrill.

Secretary, Samuel S. Hatt.

Treasurer, Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.

Curator, Cuyler Reynolds.

### COMMITTEES, 1908.

#### *Executive.*

James Ten Eyck,

Edward N. McKinney,

John E. McElroy,

Albert Vander Veer,

J. Townsend Lansing,

Samuel S. Hatt,

Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.

#### *House.*

J. Townsend Lansing,

Frederick Tillinghast.

John E. McElroy,

*Entertainment.*

William Gorham Rice,  
Franklin M. Danaher,  
Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.,

William P. Rudd,  
Alphone A. Dayton,  
James F. McElroy.

*Membership.*

Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.,  
Danforth E. Ainsworth,

Cuyler Reynolds,  
Wm. L. Learned Peltz.

## MEETINGS

Entertainments in literature, music, and science are given weekly or oftener throughout the year, except in summer.

## PUBLICATIONS, 1908.

"Catalogue of Pictures," Cuyler Reynolds, 5¼ x 8, pp. 36,  
11 half half-tones.

## BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, January, 1863; Annual Meeting, second Tuesday in January.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Andrew Langdon.

Vice-President, Hon. Henry W. Hill.

Secretary and Treasurer, Frank H. Severance.

## MANAGERS:

Albert H. Briggs, M.D.,  
Lee H. Smith, M.D.,  
L. L. Lewis, Jr.,  
Hugh Kennedy,  
Charles W. Goodyear,  
Hon. Henry W. Hill,  
Henry R. Howland,  
J. J. McWilliams,  
Frank H. Severance,  
George A. Stringer,

Willis O. Chapin,  
R. R. Hefford,  
Robert W. Day,  
Henry A. Richmond,  
G. Barrett Rich,  
J. N. Larned,  
Charles R. Wilson,  
Andrew Langdon,  
James Sweeney,  
Ogden P. Letchworth.

## MEETINGS, 1908.

Every Sunday afternoon, October to May, in Society's Building.

*Publications:*

The Fillmore Papers, constituting Vols. X and XI of the Buffalo Historical Society publications; two volumes, type measurement of page  $3\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ , pp. 489 and 582. Published by the Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, 1907.

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## CANISTEO VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, February 15, 1875; Annual Meeting, third Monday in December.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Hon. Irvin W. Near.  
Secretary, Walter G. Doty.

## MEETINGS, 1908.

November 27th, December 4th and December 18th.

*Papers:*

"The History of Metropolitan Hall, Hornell, N. Y.," by Hon. Irvin W. Near.

"The Sources of the Genesee River," by Hon. Irvin W. Near.

"Great Men Who Never Became Famous," by Walter G. Doty.

"Some Incidents in the History of Seneca County," by Rev. A. L. Schurman.

"An Historic Point in the American Revolution," by W. Arthur Williams.



CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY OF HISTORY AND NATURAL  
SCIENCE.

Unincorporated; Annual Meeting, third Thursday in July.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Hon. Obed Edson.

First Vice-President, Wm. W. Henderson.

Second Vice-President, Mrs. Daniel Griswold.

Secretary, Hon. Abner Hazeltine.

Treasurer, Levant L. Mason.

Necrologist, Mrs. R. C. Seaver.

## COMMITTEES, 1908.

*Executive.*

Mrs. Newel Cheney,  
L. L. Mason,

Mrs. Geo. S. Tuckerman,  
Mrs. Geo. W. Strong,

Hon. A. B. Ottaway.

## MEETINGS, 1908.

January 16th, July 16th.

## PUBLICATIONS, 1908.

Proceedings of the Chautauqua Society of History and Natural Science from July 19, 1883, to July 19, 1908, Jamestown, New York, 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ , pp. 54, 3 por. (1 illus.) Contents: Proceedings; addresses, "Chautauqua Paleontology, Mastodon and Mammoth," by W. W. Henderson; "Geological Structure of the Chautauqua Lake Region," by Hon. Obed Edson.

## JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated May, 1886. Annual meeting first Monday in December.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Colonel W. B. Camp.

Vice-President, E. H. Thompson.

Corresponding Secretary, Robert Lansing.

Recording Secretary, George B. Massey.

## COMMITTEES, 1908.

*Program and Publication.*

Robert Lansing, Chairman.

*Museum and Literary.*

Elon R. Brown, Chairman.

*Manuscript and Document.*

E. N. Smith, Chairman.

*Civil War Papers.*

General Bradley Winslow, Chairman.

*Biography.*

Rev. S. A. Hayt, Chairman.

## LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, February 13th, 1877; Annual Meeting, third Tuesday in January.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, John F. White.

Vice-President, George B. Adams.

Secretary and Treasurer, William A. Brodie.

## COMMITTEES, 1908.

*Publication.*

William A. Brodie,

J. B. Bucher.

George M. Shull,

*Membership.*

William Hamilton,

S. E. Hitchcock.

J. D. Davis,

*Necrology.*

A. D. Brownell,

C. K. Sanders.

C. N. Alvord,

*Local History.*

L. R. Doty,

F. H. Crofoot.

William Carter,

## MEETINGS, 1908.

January 21st.

*Papers.*

"Glacial Period in the Genesee Valley," by Prof. H. L. Fairchild.

"History of Music in Livingston County," by W. W. Killip.

## MADISON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, March 29th, 1900; Annual Meeting, third Wednesday in January.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Edwin J. Brown.

First Vice-President, Hiram L. Rockwell.

Second Vice-President, M. Eugene Barlow.

Third Vice-President, W. Stanley Child.

Recording Secretary, S. A. Maxon.

Corresponding Secretary, Daniel Keating.

Treasurer, Theodore F. Hand.



## COMMITTEES, 1908.

*Executive.* (Elective Members.)

R. B. Ruby,

Mary Dyer Jackson.

Wm. Warr,

## MEETINGS, 1908.

January 15th, February 19th, March 18th, April 15th, May 20th, October 21st, December 16th.

*Papers.*

"Religious Denominations of Madison County," by Rev. Silas E. Persons.

"Some of the Principal Criminal Cases in Madison County," by J. D. Senn.

"A Visit to the Panama Canal Zone," by Dr. M. Cavana.

"Mohammedism, by Rev. William R. McKim.

"Peter Penet and Penet Square," by James A. Cruthers.

"Fishing Trip off Newfoundland," by C. R. Covell.

## PUBLICATIONS, 1908.

"A Historical Sketch of the Religious Denominations of Madison County, 1776-1896," by Rev. Silas E. Persons, 1908, Cazenovia, New York, 6 x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ s, pp. 23.

## MONTGOMERY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated June 27th, 1904. Annual meeting second Wednesday in June.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Charles F. McClumpha.

First Vice-President, C. F. Van Horne.

Second Vice-President, Harry Bush.

Third Vice-President, Robert M. Hartley.

Secretary, Charles E. French.

Corresponding Secretary, W. Max Reid.

Treasurer, Edward T. DeGraff.

Curator and Librarian, W. Max Reid.

Historian, Robert M. Hartley.

Custodian, Alpha Child.

*Directors.*

John Sanford,  
 Willis Wendell,  
 Spencer K. Warnick,  
 James H. Hanson,  
 Fred R. Greene,  
 W. Max Reid,  
 J. Vedder Morris,  
 Charles E. French,  
 William J. Kline,  
 Charles Stover,  
 David D. Cassidy,  
 Charles F. McClumpha,  
 Archibald Gilbert,

John K. Warnick,  
 J. Ledlie Hees,  
 S. L. Frey,  
 Harry Bush,  
 Frank Vunk,  
 C. F. Van Horne,  
 Howard A. DeGraff,  
 Robert M. Hartley,  
 Edward T. DeGraff,  
 R. A. Schuyler,  
 D. A. Burnap,  
 Freeman S. VanDerveer,

## COMMITTEES, 1908.

*Executive.*

Charles F. McClumpha,  
 Charles E. French,

Dr. Charles Stover,  
 Fred R. Greene,

John K. Warnick.

*Literary.*

Mrs. John Giles,

Bessie Carmichael,

Mrs. William B. Challe.

*Museum.*

W. Max Reid,  
 Mrs. Frank J. Wilder,  
 Mrs. Frazier Whitcomb,  
 D. D. Cassidy,

Mrs. Fred Davey,  
 Mrs. H. T. McEwen,  
 Fred R. Greene,

Mrs. W. G. Waldron.

## MEETINGS, 1908.

July 12th.

## PUBLICATIONS, 1908.

Transactions of Montgomery County Historical Society, for the year ending June 10th, 1908, Amsterdam, N. Y., 6 x 9, pp. 74. Contents: Proceedings; Reports of Officers. Address: "The Conference at Fort Johnson in June 1755, between Sir William Johnson, the Iroquois and their Allies," by W. Max Reid.

## ONONDAGA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Incorporated, April 29th, 1863. (By special act.) Annual Meeting, second Friday in January.

## OFFICERS 1908.

President, Hon. A. Judd Northrup.  
 First Vice-President, Mrs. Frances Cheney Palmer  
 Second Vice-President, Salem Hyde.  
 Recording Secretary, Franklin H. Chase.  
 Corresponding Secretary, William James.  
 Treasurer, C. W. Snow.  
 Librarian, Mrs. L. Leonora Goodrich.

*Directors.*

Hon. Charles Andrews,	Florence M. Keene,
Rev. William M. Beauchamp,	T. Jefferson Leach,
Henry R. Cooper,	Mrs. Ina Bagg Merrell,
Franklin H. Chase,	Mrs. Frances W. Marlette,
George G. Fryer,	Hon. A. Judd Northrup,
Mrs. L. Leonora Goodrich,	Edward A. Powell,
Frances P. Gifford,	Mrs. Frances Cheney Palmer,
Gen. J. Dean Hawley,	Col. John M. Strong,
Hon. Theodore E. Hancock,	Hon. Charles L. Stone,
Salem Hyde,	Charles W. Snow,
William James,	Col. Osgood V. Tracy.

## COMMITTEES 1908.

*Executive.*

Hon. A. Judd Northrup,	Franklin H. Chase,
C. W. Snow,	O. V. Tracy,
E. A. Powell.	

*Lectures and Historical Meetings.*

Dr. John Van Duyn,	Frances P. Gifford,
John T. Roberts,	Prof. William H. Mace,
Hon. A. Judd Northrup.	



*Ways and Means.*

Hon. Charles Andrews,                      Hon. Theodore E. Hancock,  
Hon. Charles L. Stone,                      Col. Osgood V. Tracy,  
Hon. A. Judd Northrup.

*Arts and Sciences.*

Dr. A. Clifford Mercer,                      Mrs. L. Leonora Goodrich,  
James A. Randall,                      Dr. Charles W. Hargitt,  
George K. Knapp.

*Local History.*

Rev. Dr. W. M. Beauchamp,                      Mrs. Mary T. Leavenworth,  
Col. John M. Strong,                      Mrs. Sarah Sumner Teall,  
Frances P. Gifford.

*Geology, Mineralogy and Botany.*

Prof. Philip F. Schneider,                      John D. Pennock,  
Mrs. L. Leonora Goodrich,                      Mrs. Florence Dillaye Vann,  
Rev. E. W. Mundy.

*Local Authors and Literature.*

Rev. Dr. Herbert G. Coddington,                      Franklin H. Chase,  
Rev. Dr. W. M. Beauchamp,                      Rev. E. W. Mundy,  
Sophia A. Clark.

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THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, November, 1888. Annual Meeting, first Tuesday in March.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Edward G. Miner.  
Vice-President, Richard H. Lansing.  
Corresponding Secretary, N. S. Olds.  
Treasurer, J. V. Alexander.

## COMMITTEES, 1908.

*Library.*

W. H. Samson,

J. V. Alexander,

R. T. Webster.

*Finance.*

E. G. Miner,

J. V. Alexander.

*Papers.*

R. H. Lansing,

W. H. Gillette,

J. V. Alexander.

*Publication.*

W. H. Samson,

N. S. Olds.

## MEETINGS, 1908.

Meetings are held the first week of each month generally from October to May.

• *Papers.*

Papers are prepared and read preferably by members, on subjects of local and neighborhood interest, the Society's activities embracing the Genesee country. These papers are interspersed with addresses on questions of the hour, in many cases by speakers of national reputation.

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 THE PUTNAM COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, September 3, 1908. Annual Meeting, first Saturday, in June.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Gouverneur Kemble.

First Vice-President, William Wood.

Second Vice-President, Mrs. Julia L. Butterfield.

Recording Secretary, Miss Mary H. Haldane.

Corresponding Secretary, Joseph A. Greene.

Treasurer, Alexander Spalding.

Librarian, Mrs. Richard Giles.

## COMMITTEES, 1908.

*Executive.*

Rev. Albert Floyd Jones,	Mrs. William H. Haldane,
Mrs. Cornelia Reilly,	Mrs. Henry Baxter,
Miss Katherine O. Paulding.	

*Calendar.*

Rev. Albert Floyd Jones,	Mrs. James A. Glover,
Mrs. Richard Giles,	Miss Maria T. Kemble.

## MEETINGS, 1908.

January 9th, June 20th, June 25th, October 24th.

*Papers.*

"Wicopee Indians," by Charles Griffin.

"Biographical Sketch of Gouverneur Kemble, Founder of the West Point Foundry at Cold Spring," by Gouverneur Kemble.

"Sketch of the Parrott Gun and its Inventor," by Gouverneur Kemble.

"Chancellor Kent," by Joseph A. Greene.

"The Name of Constitution Island" (on authority of Egbert Benson, Justice New York Supreme Court.)

*Publications.*

Art Calendar for 1909, containing twelve views of historic spots in Putnam county, 6½ x 12½, New York, 1908.

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SCHENECTADY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, June 30, 1905; Annual Meeting, first Tuesday in June.

## OFFICERS 1908.

President, Charles C. Duryee.

First Vice-President, Alonzo P. Strong.

Second Vice-President, Egbert C. Lawrence.

Third Vice-President, Charles P. Sanders.

Treasurer, Frank Van der Bogert.

Secretary, James B. Truax.



*Custodians.*

W. T. B. Mynderse,

Henry Glen.

Lee W. Case.

## COMMITTEES 1908.

*History, Traditions and Reminiscences.*

L. Robson,

Hanford Robison,

C. E. Lawrence,

E. G. Conde,

W. B. Efner.

*Collection of Historical Relics.*

M. F. Westover,

Mrs. Wm. A. Dalton,

Jacob W. Clute,

J. A. Rickard,

Cora E. Campbell,

C. E. Scott,

C. P. Sanders,

Percy M. Van Epps.

*Lectures and Public Meetings.*

Langdon Gibson, Hanford Robison, H. G. Reist.

## MEETINGS 1908.

January 29th, February 12th, February 25th, May 14th, July 18th and December 18th.

*Papers.*

"Arrow Heads," by Langdon Gibson.

"The Scotia Bridge," by Charles P. Sanders.

"Stone Relics of the Mohawk Valley," by Percy M. Van Epps.

"Our Indian Predecessors," by S. L. Frey.

"History of the Establishment of the Schenectady Electrical Industry," by W. S. Andrews.

"The Beukendaal Fight," by Charles C. Duryee.

"Some Pre-historic Animals with Suggestions as to the Evolution of Some Modern Forms," by Frank Hawley Ward.

## PUBLICATIONS 1908.

Year Book, "Schenectady County Historical Society 1906-1908," double number, 9¼ x 6¼, about 100 pp.

*Contents.*

Reports of Officers at Annual Meetings, 1907-1908.

"Cayadutta, a Pre-Colonial Mohawk Village Site," by Percy M. Van Epps.

"The Old Mohawk Bridge," by Charles P. Sanders.

"Early Church History of Schenectady," by Rev. E. C. Lawrence.

"Snake Dance of the Moqui Indians of Arizona," by Gen. Charles L. Davis, U. S. A.

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THE SCHOHARIE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, March 4, 1889; Annual Meeting, second Tuesday in January.

OFFICERS 1908.

President, Charles M. Throop.

First Vice-President, Jerome B. Badgley.

Second Vice-President, Watson Lamont.

Third Vice-President, Henry Livingston.

Recording Secretary, Dr. H. F. Kingsley.

Corresponding Secretary, Prof. Solomon Sias.

Curator, Henry Cady.

Treasurer, Frank K. Grant.

COMMITTEES 1908.

*Executive.*

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E. Lee Auchampaugh,

C. H. Dietz,  
Wm. P. Daring,

Dow Beekman.

*Addresses.*

Rev. John H. Brandow,  
H. G. Tennant.

Daniel D. Frisbie,

*Publications.*

Solomon Sias,

Arthur D. Mead.

W. E. Bassler,

*Biography and Historical Matter.*

William E. Roscoe, George L. Danforth,  
Jacob Van Valkenburgh.

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## THE SENECA FALLS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, June 27, 1904; Annual Meeting, third Monday  
in October.

## OFFICERS 1908.

President, Harrison Chamberlain.  
Vice-President, H. A. Carmer.  
Secretary, Emma Maier.  
Treasurer, E. W. Medden.  
Librarian, Janet Cowing.

*Trustees.*

Harrison Chamberlain,	E. William Medden,
Hermion A. Carmer,	Albert W. Golder,
W. P. Elwell,	Belle Teller,
W. H. Beach,	Janet Cowing,
Rev. William P. Schell.	

## MEETINGS 1908.

Third Monday evenings from September to May, inclusive.

*Papers.*

See "Publications 1908"

## PUBLICATIONS 1908.

Papers read before the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the  
year 1908, 6 x 9, pp. 73.



*Contents.*

"The Medical Profession," by Dr. Elias Lester.

"Early Barrel and Boat Industries," by Harrison Chamberlain.

"The Legal Profession," by Gilbert Wilcoxon.

"Five Pivotal Years of Our History," by Harrison Chamberlain.

"Sixtieth Anniversary of the 1848 Woman's Rights Convention, May 24-27, 1908."

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## SUFFOLK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, September 28, 1886; Annual Meeting, third Tuesday in February.

## OFFICERS 1908.

President, Augustus Floyd.

First Vice-President, Rev. Ephraim Whitaker, D.D.

Second Vice-President, George F. Stackpole.

Corresponding Secretary, Selah B. Strong.

Recording Secretary, Miss Ruth H. Tuthill.

Treasurer, Timothy M. Griffing.

Curator, Rev. William I. Chalmers.

*Publications* 1908.

"Year Book of the Suffolk County Historical Society 1908"  
Riverhead, N. Y., 1909, 9¼ x 6¼, pp. 32.

*Contents.*

Lists of Members, Donors and Contributors. Photograph of Society's new building. "The Society and its Work."

## TARRYTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, December 15, 1900; Annual Meeting, third Thursday in January.

## OFFICERS, 1908.

President, Richard B. Coutant, M.D.  
First Vice-President, Marcius D. Raymond.  
Second Vice-President, Charles Eddison.  
Secretary, Charles P. Batt.  
Treasurer, Clarence S. Davison.

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THE WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, March 23, 1876; Annual Meeting, last Thursday in March.

## OFFICERS 1908.

President, James E. Batsford.  
Vice-President, William B. Clark.  
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Librarian, Miss Lulu M. Clark.

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## COMMITTEES 1908.

*Book and Entertainment.*

Rev. H. E. Hubbard,

George F. Bodine.

J. L. Webster,

*Printing and Historical.*

Rev. H. E. Hubbard,

Leonard Story,

J. L. Webster.

*Papers.*

"A Complete History of the Society," by Rev. Henry E. Hubbard.

"The Historic Balm of Gilead," by Rev. Henry E. Hubbard.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The New York State Historical Association has published eight volumes of proceedings. To members of the Association the back volumes, as far as possible, will be supplied at the uniform rate of \$2 per volume, and if ordered at one time all the volumes on hand will be sent express paid to those not members of the Association. The volumes will be sold separately as follows:

Vol. 1, \$2.10; vol. 2, \$2.10; vol. 3, \$2.10; vol. 4, \$2.10; vol. 5, out of print; vol. 6, \$3; vol. 7, \$2.25; vol. 8, \$3.

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